OUTDOOR EDUCATION AND THE REHABILITATION OF AT-RISK ADOLESCENTS

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ABSTRACT

Amongst alternative forms of treatment for adolescents facing social and emotional adjustment problems, Outdoor Education has been identifed as an effective vehicle for behaviour and attitude modification. An evaluation of a programme incorporating Outdoor Education principles within a residential institution for adolescent females was undertaken using a quasi-experimental design. Changes in self concepts, social adjustment and classroom behaviour of subjects who participated in the programme was compared with subjects who were involved in the regular school programme. Results indicated that the Outdoor Education programme was not instrumental in producing change in participants. However, it was concluded that problems affecting the internal validity of the study, contributed importantly to the negative results. Of particular concern was the fact that the Outdoor Education programme did not occur in the form in which it was initially described. Nevertheless, drawing on qualitative data gathered throughout the study, the potential worth of Outdoor Education in the rehabilitation of at-risk adolescents was considered.

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CHAPTER I

CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, writings about the human race reveal that society has always been conscious of the existence of individuals who do not conform to its behavioural norms. Of these `deviants', one type with whose label society is most familiar is the juvenile delinquent. Having transgressed the barriers of the law, the juvenile offender is too old to plead ignorance, and yet too young to be treated as a criminal. In recent years however, there has been an increasing awareness of the possibility of identifying juvenile populations which are `at-risk' of becoming official delinquents. Frequently coming to the attention of the social welfare agencies, these adolescents typically face adverse social circumstances with a poor academic record, socially inappropriate behaviour and a low self-image.

Intervention to reverse the inevitability of their destiny in the prison system, has typically been to remove such youth from their natural homes, either temporarily or on a permanant basis. This is regarded as a primary step towards prevention and rehabilitation, and may be followed by a period of foster care, or institutionalisation, the success of which is difficult to determine. Research conclusions on the outcomes of such interventions are tentative, but seldom are there indications of spectacular success in either preventing further anti-social behaviour,

or rehabilitating socially-alientated individuals (Bartollas et al, 1976).

While the limitations of the current system are acknowledged by many authorities, viable proposals to amend existing services are seldom forthcoming, and totally new and innovative alternatives are infrequent. One alternative however, Outdoor Education (OE), seems to be an exception. Following the model of the `Outward Bound' school set up by Kurt Hahn in the 1940s, a number of programmes have been established in the past two decades, using intense physical activities as a rehabilitative vehicle.

There is considerable evidence of the potential of OE to modify poor self attitudes and socially undesirable behaviour in participants. In particular, several studies (Kelly and Baer, 1971; Willman and Chun, 1973), have illustrated its effective use with maladjusted groups, and those commonly designated `delinquent'. In response to such evidence, an Outdoor Education programme was established in 1981 at a residential centre for adolescent girls. They had been institutionalised as a result of their social and emotional adjustment problems and many of whom were considered failures of the traditional academically-oriented school situation.

As a result of its apparently successful inauguration in 1981, Outdoor Education became a permanant programme. The purpose of the current study was to evaluate the Outdoor Education class programme which operated in 1983,

in terms of its effectiveness in promoting appropriate classroom behaviour, improving the self concepts and enhancing the social adjustment of girls participating in the programme. While the primary component of this evaluation was a quasi-experimental study, data of a more qualitative nature was also gathered in an attempt to illuminate the factors operating in Outdoor Education.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"It is the sin of the soul to force young people into opinions - indoctrination is of the devil,- but it is culpable neglect not to impel young people into experiences" (Savoy, 1972; p.41).

It is appropriate that these words expounding the philosophy upon which rehabilitative recreation is built, should be attributable to Kurt Hahn, the founder of the Outward Bound Movement. The epitome of the recreative education approach is in a single word: experience. Hence, programmes devoted to such an approach are often labelled experiential education. The terms outdoor education, recreative education, and experiential education are often used somewhat interchangeably, as each incorporates some principles of the Outward Bound movement. In the current review however, each term retains its specific meaning.

The Outdoor Education (OE) approach to rehabilitation is based on two premises. The first premise is ubiquitous in its application, one relating to leisure time usage. Current attention is focussed on the need for adolescents to be taught to constructively use their leisure hours, the time in which they are not in attendance at school or work, and therefore are most liable to commit either criminal or status offences.

However, there are wider implications for the greater society, in its utilisation of leisure time. With an

increasing emphasis on a shorter working week, the individual will effectively be faced with more time available for non-work, or leisure activities. In a recent Leisure Seminar carried out by the New Zealand Council for Recreation and Sport recreation was described thus: "Recreation is what you do when nobody and no social pressure tells you what to do" (Prendergast, 1933, p. 151).

It may seem illogical therefore, to discuss leisure in terms of `time specifically allotted for that purpose', but it is through the constructive use of leisure time that recreation can be of most psychological benefit to the individual. Recreation is the `re-creation' of the individual, and consequently the more stimulating the recreating activity, the greater stabilising effect it will have on the mental well-being of the individual.

The second premise upon which OE is founded is not exclusive of the major premise, but is based on it. It was developed from a belief in psychosomatics or the interdependent relationship between mind and body. While the immediate physical benefits of sport, or active recreation are evident, it is the additional psychological benefits which accrue, to which the Outward Bound movement is committed. In this model, intense physical exertion is a major tool in teaching individuals to face adversity and stress with increasing self confidence. In being exposed to both physical and psychological challenge, an individual may develop increased feelings of well-being, self esteem, and self reliance. It is this claim to which the current

review addresses itself. Is there indeed more to OE than the mere physics of any activity, so that it can be used as an appropriate tool in the treatment of individuals who suffer social and emotional adjustment problems? In particular, can it be used with juveniles who are at risk of being labelled delinquent? Through participation in such a programme, will the `at-risk' adolescent begin to appreciate the long-term mental health benefits of constructive recreation, as compared with the immediate but ephemeral satisfaction, resulting from less constructive forms of leisure?

The History of Outdoor Education and Recreation Philosophy

The work of Layman (1972) is a foundation in understanding the psychological aspects of physical education and sport. She describes the characteristics which make up an emotionally healthy person, which is the fundamental psychomodel upon which such a claim for the value of challenging physical activity is based. If an individual possess the ability to deal with feelings of hostility and frustration, is sensitive to the feelings of others, and has a reasonable sense of self-worth, Layman maintains that the capacity to enjoy life, relatively free from anxiety and tension, will eminate. It is difficult to recognise play therefore, as defined by Gulick (1972), in an isolated sense, in which satisfaction is exclusively due to participation in an activity: "Doing what we want to do, without reference primarily to any ulterior end, but simply for the joy of the process" (Layman, 1972; p.164).

In considering the theory of the metaphysical relationship between mind and body, developed at the beginning of the 20th century, Layman suggests that these are two aspects of a single functional reality. This psychosomatic unity was supported in the 1920s and 1930s by Freud, who agreed that sport fulfilled an important function in repressing and chanelling undesirable instincts in man, thereby contributing to healthy emotional development. By the 1950s, these theoretical ideas were enhanced by early research, using clinical case studies and surveys. Currently however, empirical support for the more general benefits of OE is not available, as research conclusions are often anecdotal or hearsay in nature.

Despite inconsistency in evidence, many writers appear convinced that there does exist a positive relationship between physical fitness and emotional health. Layman suggests that a component of this emotional health is the acquisition of the attitudes, values and habits implied in the concept of good `character'. Similarly, Slavson (1946) points to the value of active recreation in developing a feeling of self worth, and Bower (1952) maintains that ..."Personal and group integrity, loyalty, cooperation, courtesy, respect for the body, and that galaxy of traits known as sportsmanship..." are potential developments from P.E., recreation and sport (Layman, 1972; p.171).

Convincing though these assertions are in promoting recreation, Layman questions whether the resultant socially-desirable behaviours are due to merely participating in sport: how important is actual skill in

an activity? It would seem that if competition is an important part of the activity, the positive values cited will not accrue. A more relevant independent variable acting in recreation/sport programmes may be the challenge element, particularly in those programmes developed for `at-risk' juveniles. If such an adolescent finds her usual activities more exciting than those of any organised recreation programme, she will remain unenthusiastic about participation. Layman suggests that three conditions must be met, if supervised recreation is to contribute to delinquency prevention: the programme must be broad enough to appeal to varied interests; the adult leaders must be well selected, and the personal needs of individuals, as well as group needs must be attended to.

In conclusion however, Layman stresses the need for `planned spontaneity' in programmes, rather than an overwhelmingly structured disciplinary approach, rejection of which by youth is inevitable.

Chapman (1977) in rethinking programmes of recreation activities for children and youth, supports a shift in emphasis from `stilted and autocratic' planning of organised recreation. Since recreation for youth should involve `doing their own thing', he suggests that efforts by adults should be directed to developing facilities and an environmental atmosphere conducive to such individual creation. Citing Norway's youth recreation programme as a model, Chapman describes the way in which youth and adults cooperated in the formation of a steering committee, which is responsible for planning and controlling youth clubs. A

qualified full-time professional with experience in recreation planning is also considered essential in the delicate coordination of adult leadership and youth participation. Results of a survey of Norwegian youth indicate that this type of programme planning is instrumental in preventing juvenile delinquency. It creates a sense of self-pride by the youth in their environment, in response to the trust developed in them by their adult leaders. While such programmes include relatively passive recreational activities and hobbies, like crafts, cooking and dancing, their preventative potential, particularly for institutionalised individuals is clear.

The Implications of Outdoor Education and Recreation Philosophy for the Rehabilitation of Offenders

The following section is concerned with the rehabilititative potential of OE programmes for institutionalised individuals. Concern over prison violence, recidivism rates, and the general ineffectiveness of the penal system over the last decade has prompted enquiry into rehabilitative processes. Reynolds (1975), recognising the `warehousing' rather than rehabilitative function of institutions catering for offenders, identifies recreation as an important tool in the rehabilitative process. He describes an activity programme within a juvenile detention hall, which was set up to improve communication and understanding between youth and adult figures, and provide an opportunity for the youth to adjust to their detention environment. The programme was

simultaneously aimed at increasing its clientele's repertoire of recreative skills and interests. Rather than develop a totally new programme, the detention centre implemented a series of innovative procedures, in an effort to provide some reality perspective to institution life. Cooking, both daily and for special occasions, reduced the incarceration atmosphere; gardening served a similar purpose, while instruction in craft, music and sporting activities provided contact with outside vounteers, exposing the youth to new leisure activities

Reynolds maintains it is important to reduce the intensity of competition by avoiding comparisons of individual skill levels. As Layman has suggested, if competition is a primary factor, the psychological benefits are unlikely to accrue. However, in Reynolds' programme participants were encouraged to compete against their own performances in physical activities, in order to promote feelings of self-worth. To meet the objective of improved understanding and communication, efforts were made to aid the youth to continue any leisure activity pursued while in detention, after his release. These efforts met with limited success because the wide geographical location served by the detention facility made it difficult to contact the appropriate agencies. Other problems identified by Reynolds arose from the uncertainty surrounding each youth's confinement period. The introduction of complex activities, requiring lengthy instruction was not possible, because of the frequent short-term nature of clients' incarceration. Security measures, overcrowding, and limited existing facilities in

the institution posed additional problems. While acknowledging the obstacles inherent in recreation programme implementatation, Reynolds emphasises the programme's merit, in motivating similar therapeutic programmes, as it serves to illustrate the diagnostic and rehabilitative function function of such centres.

On the basis of a tour of Scottish penal institutions, Chainey (1973) criticises the work programmes for their inability to occupy prisoners in a challenging fashion. Without mental and physical stimulation, he maintains that life for inmates becomes "...a round of sleeping, eating and marking time" (Chainey, 1973; p.21). With too few demands made on the individual, the boredom Chainey observed amongst prisoners should not be unexpected. While he is aware of the limits of both facilities and staff, he reinforces the notion that a basic prisoner requirement is recreation education, both passive and active. Since many offenders have deviated from law abidance during their leisure time, he suggests that they must be taught to use leisure constructively. Chainey describes the provision of recreation classes, the use of television, tapes and correspondence courses, as well as traditional teaching by professionals, to illustrate the contemporary innovative approach to leisure. This contrasts with the token opportunities which existed fifty years ago, when recreation consisted of periodic bouts of exercise, and the limited availability of reading material.

Chainey concludes by suggesting that in developing challenging balanced recreation programmes, substantial

government funding should not be an overriding consideration. Simple self-built facilities within institutions, utilising available manpower, can serve the recreation requirements just as well as Olympic standard sports facilities. The claim that lack of finance is the cause of a programme's failure is a convenient excuse but may be totally unfounded. The review of specific programmes, in the following section will illustrate that poor planning and organisation, and a lack of insight into the recreation requirements of problem youth has frequently led to failure.

Lutz (1981) is cautious about making any extravagant claims about the effectiveness of recreation programmes' in reducing delinquency. He believes that recreation is a contributing factor, rather than a determining factor in delinquency prevention. In reviewing the work of Kraus (1977), Lutz concludes that through varied recreational experiences,"...youngsters gain physical growth and healthy development, the opportunity for emotional growth, creative expression and needed socialisation" (Lutz, 1981; p.81). Lutz maintains that by exploring her environment, the youth can learn much about her own capabilities. Agreeing with Chainey's belief in the latent leisure benefits of recreation programmes, Lutz claims that interests may be developed which will serve the youth in future leisure and vocational choices.

Lutz also claims that recreation programme organisers do not recognise that the delinquent is different. A study by Glueck and Glueck (1950) indicates that the troubled

youth is generally more socially assertive, defiant, impulsive and extroverted in behaviour. She tends to be less cooperative, less dependent on others, and less conventional in ideas and feelings. Lutz emphasises the need to plan recreation programmes with this understanding of the delinquent's personality traits. Activities should be designed to inhibit these negative characteristics, and develop more socially acceptable qualities. Lutz advocates a programme orientation similar to that suggested by Layman (1972), in which adventure and challenge take precedence over competitive sports. Lutz maintains that competitive sports merely reinforce a consistently organised world, where strict adherence to rules is expected. This reflects the system in which the delinquent has already failed and not unexpectedly, youth adopt an attitude of hostility towards such rigidity. However, in providing exciting activities, Lutz emphasises that efficient planning and organisation must not be overlooked. An individual must be aware of the requirements of and the opportunities within a programme, so that she can weigh up its benefits and demands and subsequently make a firm commitment to participate.

Lutz is critical of the vast amount of specialised equipment and facilities being set aside when, he maintains, the level of interest in a sport or activity can be more effectively raised through the introduction of professional persons. Active participation should be the uppermost aim, with the proviso that, if a participant is constantly `failing' in her pursuit of an activity, alternative activities should be readily available, to

maximise the chances of success. Lutz emphasises that advanced skill in delinquents is rare, and should not be expected. Planning and direction by the youth themselves is important particularly to ensure that a wide variety of activities are available, and that such activities are not seen to be of entirely adult orientation.

Finally, Lutz makes a comment on the necessity for year-round activities within a programme, to ensure continuity and the possibility of skill progression. He also suggests that activities are frequently too male oriented, and fail to recognise that female delinquents could benefit from similar programmes. He advocates a more androgenous approach to recreation programme development.

On the basis of descriptive accounts given by various writers, it appears that the programmed use of OE does have rehabilitative potential in institutions. By making available constructive leisure time activities, with the emphasis on challenge rather than competition, the incarceration atmosphere may be reduced.

Outdoor Education and Adolescent Maladjustment

A number of writers have described the effects of outdoor education principles which have been incorporated into more traditional treatment programmes for maladjusted adolescents. A brief review of the views of four such writers focusses on the characteristic problems of young delinquents, which may be affected by OE.

Wetter (1978) emphasises the need for teachers of emotionally disturbed and socially maladjusted children, to show an interest in individuals, to look for and reward only appropriate behaviour, and avoid attending to negative traits. Since a majority of this pre-delinquent group hold values different from most children, frequently truanting and experiencing expulsion from school, Wetter points out that `school' and everything associated with it is not equated with feelings of security or success. Because the maladjusted adolescent is seldom positively influenced by her more mature peers, it is imperative for the teacher to recognise negative characteristics, and react consistently to crisis situations which occur. Students should possess clear, brief but meaningful expectations of the consequences of any behaviour. Consequences should be immediate and certain. For a student who has continually experienced failure in the school environment, reinforcement of appropriate behaviour is imperative if the negative charge is to be removed, and replaced with a healthy attitude towards an environment conducive to learning. Wetter suggests that crisis prevention is a more appropriate means of dealing with the problem, than intervention after the fact. An environment in which potential crisis situations can be avoided would seem therefore most appropriate; why not one incorporating the outdoors?

This notion is developed by Jorden et al (1980) who maintain that undesirable behavioural responses can be eliminated by reducing the amount of external controls, increasing the amount of self-regulatory behaviour, and

providing environmental structures which reduce the likelihood of vandalism. The writers propose two major means for creating such an environment. Firstly, the student must take an active, self-governing role, rather than remain passive in the organisation of her daily life. Second, an attempt must be made to teach a student self-reliance, so that she can meet personal crises alone, be they of academic or social nature: Jorden et al point to a significant relationship between self-concept and academic achievement.

Jorden et al concluded therefore that a non-academic environment has more potential in increasing self concepts than the familiar academic-oriented schoolroom, and consequently advocate Outward Bound and Wilderness Programmes. The programmed use of physical and social problem-solving tasks, conducted in an Outward Bound environment encourages the development of alternative and appropriate behaviours for maladjusted youth. Furthermore the writers suggest, if the physical, emotional and interpersonal crisis problems are introduced incrementally, and are both concrete and manageable, the programme should provide a basis for the kind of behaviour expected in the youth's community environment.

Ryan (1980), in describing a selection of programmes for reducing disruptive and truant behaviour in schools, suggests personal growth can develop through the use of safe adventure. Rigourous activities which challenge both physically and psychologically can enable an individual to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of herself,

her peers, adults and the natural environment in which such activities should ideally occur.

The independent variable in this change process, according to Ryan, is success in an activity which one perceives as either difficult or dangerous: previous self expectations of such youth would ensure a self-fulfilled failure, reinforcing their poor self image. Ryan subsequently labels such programmes `Dicovery', since such treatment is a means of revealing to the youths, their true psychological and physical potential.

Adams (1980) describes a programme in which recreation therapy serves, in his view, one of the more universal purposes outlined earlier (Reynolds, 1978). Rather than focus on self-discovery as Ryan does, Adams maintains that the recreation therapy component in his residential treatment and education programme is designed to introduce adolescents to a variety of sports and group games, utilising it as an example of both positive and negative social interaction. Not only is each resident expected to plan and participate in all activities, she is exposed to three concurrent elements of treatment: psychotherapy, academic and milieu therapies. Hence, rather than avoid entirely the negatively-charged environment, as Jorden et al (1980) advocate, Adams confronts it, by incorporating it within a diversified treatment programme, aimed at reinstating institutionalised adolescents into the community.

The characteristic attitudes and behaviour of

adolescents experiencing social and emotional adjustment problems, frequently lead them into conflict with more regular education programmes. Activities with a non-academic emphasis may remove the aversive feelings which these adolescents feel towards school. It seems that OE responds to these requirements in way in which activities within the classroom do not.

Outdoor Education Programmes in Practice

Having reviewed the claim that OE should be a component in rehabilitation programmes for `at-risk' or delinquent adolescents, attention is now turned towards a discussion of particular programmes and schools, which have tried to implement OE as a change agent with such a population. However, while the philosophies behind this dedication have already been outlined and will become even more apparent in discussion of particular programmes, it is appropriate to open such an analysis with a description of the original Outward Bound school, established by Kurt Hahn, in the early 1940s.

In response to British Admiralty concern at the large number of young seamen who died with little resistance during World War I, the German-born educator developed a school proposing to teach seamen to survive under stress. His basic underlying assumption was that by exposing the adolescent to severe physical challenge, physical stamina would result. Each individual was pushed to his physical limit, and generally forced to achieve beyond what he believed he was capable of.

Thus the Outward Bound (O.B) movement was born, and in the years that followed, an increasing need for such training was recognised, building character as well as survival skills, until currently about forty O.B. schools exist around the world (Arthur, 1983, p. 21)

In the light of the conclusions reached particularly by Jorden et al (1980) regarding the delinquent's need for an environment relatively free from external controls, Hahn's Outward Bound model would appear to `fit the bill': a programme designed to challenge, including extended expeditions, rock-climbing, rappelling, solo experiences, and white-water canoeing, provides an opportunity for the wayward to experience stress under circumstances where guidance, where required, is available. As will be illustrated, some modifications are often deemed necessary, in using such programmes for correctional purposes. Cardwell (1976) suggests that six basic components of O.B. must remain: physical and mental challenge; clear unavoidable tasks; occasional confrontation with fear; continuing involvement in adventure; presentation of seemingly impossible tasks; and finally, the overall impact of the experience should be a positive one, since he maintains that emphasis is on development of positive characteristics, the removal of negative characteristics being less apparent. Greater reference will be made to the work of Cardwell in a later section, as the specific programme on which he bases his views, is reviewed.

The majority of OE programmes described in research over the past decade or so have been implemented in Europe

and the United States. Hence the current review addresses itself predominantly to this overseas material, providing the context for a small number of New Zealand studies

In 1971, three O.B. colleges were operating in the United States, and in an historic study, Kelly and Baer (1971) compared the effectiveness of the colleges as a treatment for delinquency, with a traditional training school. The study is a monument in the area of rehabilitative OE, as it has motivated many subsequent programmes and concurrent research.

Under the supervision of trained instructors, each school adapted a basic 26 day programmme according to its own physical enviroment - mountain, sea or forest - to incorporate training in four areas: physical stress, technical, safety, and team work. A sample of 120 adolescent delinquent youths, devoid of any severe physical disability, or psychopathology was selected from a Reception Centre, and from several reform schools. While 60 boys participated in O.B. programmes at one of the three schools, a comparison group of the same number, matched for age, I.Q., race, religion, adjudicated offence, and previous referrals to welfare agencies, were either returned to an institution or paroled. While psychologists' impressions of programme impact through participant observation were recorded, the dependent variable was recidivism rate. This was defined as a return to a juvenile institution, or commitment to an adult institution for a new offence within one year after parole, determined by youth service and probation files.

Results indicated that only 20 percent of the experimental O.B. group recidivated, compared with 42 percent of the control group ($p<.01$). Kelly and Baer found however, that background variables such as age of first court appearance, presence of both parents in the home, age of first institutionalisation and type of offence, were important conditions affecting recidivism. They suggest that delinquents who are responding to an adolescent crisis, rather than exemplefying a character defect, are more likely to benefit from an O.B. programme. In conclusion, Kelly and Baer assert that while O.B. seems effective in reducing recidivism, it is not necessarily appropriate for all delinquents. They recommend therefore, that it not be regarded as a total alternative, but that principles of O.B. could be incorporated into existing institutional treatment.

Lee and Schroder (1969) studied participants in an urban-based `Action Bound' programme. In the latter, O.B. principles were used therapeutically in an attempt to ..."inculcate achievement standards in, and to develop the self image of the lower class non-achieving high school student" (Lee and Schroder, 1969; p.193).

In addition to weekends devoted to field exercises - mountain climbing, canoeing, rescue training, and community service - the 40 participants met daily to discuss expedition principles, leadership techniques, and other intrapersonal and interpersonal problems. Vacations were devoted to week-long outdoor expeditions. Lee and Schroder identified a control group of 40 students, matched for age,

I.Q. and behaviour, according to school reports: each pair of subjects was also roughly matched for race, socio-economic status, and academic progress, and the entire sample of 80 students was pretested on various measures prior to the programme's commencement. Results of posttests indicated significant differences between the two groups, principally ones of social participation. The Action Bound students perceived themselves as more active, stronger, more positive and less alienated, and developed a more positive regard for others, particularly peer groups. Furthermore, when compared with the controls, the Action Bound students displayed a more mature personal goal orientation. Teacher evaluation supported this significant difference: on a blind-rating system, teachers perceived the Action Bound students as more positive, more interested in helping others, developing a greater capacity for critical self-assessment, indicated by a responsiveness to criticism by their teachers. Lee and Schroder therefore state with confidence that the Action Bound programme had significant positive behavioural consequences on its participants.

While these behavioural changes cannot be directly compared with the dependent variable of recidivism in Kelly and Baer's study, the results are consistent with the latter: the interrelationship is clear between a more mature set of attitudes toward self, others, school and authority, and the ability by youth to avoid further delinquent acts.

In evaluating a voluntary adventure programme for

teenagers, Savoy (1972) describes `Voyageurs', as attempt to teach young individuals an awareness of the natural environment, to live and appreciate all climates, and thereby enhance personal characteristics of self-reliance, perseverence, self-confidence and a sense of responsibilty for oneself, without losing a respect for others. A three-day module existed: Day One was devoted to orientation and preparation, Day Two was the actual expedition, and Day Three was for evaluation purposes. While Savoy was not intent on measuring individual change per se, he identifies several factors relating to challenge expeditions, which are operating to produce the kinds of changes commonly attributed to Outward Bound.

Firstly, the utilisation of brigades enhanced group cohesion, and required individuals to work as a cooperative team, if discomfort due to the elements was to be avoided. Secondly, each week, the difficulty of the expeditions was incrementally increased, which ensured participants were being extended, both physically and mentally. Evaluation of the final expedition revealed that many of the volunteers had achieved beyond what they believed they were capable of, which resulted in self-professed feelings of satisfaction. Development of other personal characteristics of self-reliance and initiative were frequently cited by participants. However, Savoy does not deny that the programme was not successful for all participants, and suggests that modifications should be made in subsequent programmes. Many parents were antagonistic towards `Voyageurs', which proved problematic, when efforts were made to ensure continued cooperation and

enthusiasm of participants. If parents had been made more aware of the internal aims of such a programme, instead of viewing only the immediate external purpose of pure physical stress, they may have been more cooperative. Finally, Savoy maintains that the differential physical capabilities of girls and boys, warrant separate programmes, if maximum benefit for both sexes is desired. Furthermore, while discipline should exclusively be the teacher's domain, Savoy recognises the detrimental effects of overinterference by the latter. Ideally, during expeditions, the supervisor should only intervene if danger is impending.

Willman and Chun (1973), following the model set by Kelly and Baer (1971), evaluated `Homeward Bound', a programme of severe physical challenge, juxtaposed with periods of relative calm, for absorption and reflection. Like Kelly and Baer, they believe that it is of little value to point out to an adjudicated youth that she is far more capable than she feels herself to be: more profitable are circumstances in which the delinquent can clearly demonstrate this competence to herself. Homeward Bound is a six-week programme and the preliminary phase incorporates community service projects, hikes, running, obstacle courses and instruction. This is followed by an intensive second phase at camp, participating in the usual O.B. physical challenge activities of rappelling, sea expeditions and rescue operations. Willman and Chun carried out a seven to fourteen month follow-up study of 178 Homeward Bound participants, comparing them with 75 delinquent boys attending a traditional training school.

Their results correlated remarkably closely with the findings of Kelly and Baer (1971): 20.8 percent of the Homeward Bound boys recidivated in that time, compared with 42.7 percent of the control group. Their results indicated that the Homeward Bound boys were able to stay out of trouble longer than their training school counterparts, since of those who recidivated within six months, only 38 percent were from Homeward Bound, compared with 72 percent from the control group. The researchers found many factors significantly contributed to success with Homeward Bound: as the chronological age of the participants increased, so too did chances of success in the programme; participants whose parents were `separated' showed poorer results; the higher the school grade attained by participants, the better the chance of success; participants committed to Homeward Bound for assault offences and larceny were more apt to succeed than those in the `stubborn child' category. The latter has obvious implications for subsequent selection procedures, improving upon the `space available' basis used during the study.

In evaluating one of the first OE programmes developed exclusively for girls, Neff (1973) expresses concern at the increasing rate of delinquency among girls. Efforts to pave out a more optimistic future for delinquent adolescent females resulted in an adventure trail course, aimed at teaching girls to solve their own problems. While participants generally enjoy the 26-day camp, a preliminary part of the year-round community service for disturbed females, its purpose is therapeutic rather than recreational, since individual and group counselling is an

integral part of the camp. Actual details of the internal activities of the camp are not relevant, since they typically follow along the lines of camps previously reviewed, with the emphasis on individual responsibilty for behaviour and learning to relate to other campers with appropriate social and behavioural skills.

During its inaugural two years, Neff reports an impressive `success rate' with 200 girls. On entry into the programmes, 45 percent of the participants had school problems, and exhibited withdrawn, hostile behaviours, with a history of poor social conduct and truancy: at the time of Neff's evaluation, 70 percent of the 200 girls had experienced significant improvement in personal conduct, school achievement, and peer group relationships. No mention is made of precisely how these improvements were identified, but a subsequent evuation of 100 campers carried out, supported the pilot study's claim.

Using a diversified systems analysis, and a matched control group, the girls' self-reports, and reports of teachers, parents and counsellors were analysed. Results indicated a significant change in the attitudes of girls to school, their teachers, and their work; counsellors also reported desirable changes in many problem areas, but there was considerable variance in all reports over the 100 girls, suggesting a differential progress rate. On the basis of this variance, and regarding a number of apparently `unsuccessful' girls, Neff concluded that the programme was more appropriate as a preventative measure, rather than an antidote for severely troubled girls.

Furthermore, she emphasises the need for recognition of the problem adolecent female. Neff maintains that females are less likely to act out their problems in publicly offensive ways, and are thereby often overlooked by helping agencies. This may be reflected into later adult life, since clinical psychologists treat twice as many males than females, and yet there are more females in mental institutions. Thus, if prevention at the adolecent stage is to be attempted, a more androgeneous approach to OE planning is required (Lutz, 1981).

Kaplan (1974) is critical of Outdoor Challenge studies which claim `elixir psychological properties', but are devoid of substantiating evidence. Consequently, in her study, three issues are particularly pursued: the time scale for which apparent benefits accrue, the use of a comparison group, and selection criteria for OE programmes. With a very small experimental group of 10, and a control group of 25 subjects, Kaplan evaluated a two-week Outdoor Challenge session, dealing principally with aspects of self-esteem and confidence. Data was collected at four points in time, the first and last of these involving the entire sample. The middle collection points were devoted to the experimental group, and covered material on prior camping experience, abilities and changes in attitudes and skill.

These middle phases will not be discussed, since they deal only with the OE group, and merely serve to reinforce the self-reported `elixir properties' of activities like rock-climbing and solo. The Rosenberg Scale of Self-Esteem

(Rosenberg 1965) was used for the pretests and posttests, and it was evident that the two groups, although equated for sex, age and geographical location, differed initially on the Rosenberg scale. Recognising this selection bias, Kaplan reasons that the Challenge group were more outdoorsmen initially, and possibly less socially inclined than the control group. On the pretest, out of a possible 100 points, the Outdoor Challenge group mean was 8.7 compared with 7.2 for the controls ($p<.02$). Furthermore, although the OE course was only of two weeks' duration, the time lapse between initial and final data collection was almost six months, during which time many others variables may have affected the subjects. As a result of these two factors, the outcome measures of self-esteem were invalid: not only was there minimumal room for the Challenge group to improve on the Rosenberg scale, since their initial scores were significantly higher, it is not possible to attribute any changes in self-esteem, or even patterns of interest to the two-week programme, which had occurred about four or five months previously. While admitting these limitations, Kaplan maintains there were a number of interesting trends eminating from the OE study. It would seem that although the Challenge group actually declined on one measure of esteem, this may reflect in fact, a greater realism in outlook. There was evidence in three other items that the experimental group subjects were also more aware of their individual limitations. Kaplan identifies two other quantifiable results in the final section: whereas over a third of the controls desired change in their physical characteristics, only one of the Challenge group expressed such a desire.

Secondly, only one of the experimental group expressed a desire to be `different', whereas over half of the control group did so: neither of these trends were evident in the pretest.

Kaplan concludes her study recognising the problems with internal validity, but tentatively encouraged with the results: "The fact that the data suggests some positive change several months later, when school is once again a reality, and summer is long behind, is important" (Kaplan, 1974; p.115)

Reference has already been made to Cardwell (1976) with his suggestions for the adaptive use of O.B. for corrections, made on the basis of Project D.A.R.E.: Development through Adventure, Responsibility and Education. The programme consists of two phases of 28 days each, for delinquent youth in their middle to late teens. In the first phase, environmental skill acquisition is combined with a preliminary OE programme. The latter serves as a basis for Phase II, a combination of high adventure and experiential education, and includes the familiar O.B. activities of hiking, expeditions, rock-climbing, survival, and rescue operations. While not involved in any quantitative analysis, Cardwell draws several interesting conclusions from Project D.A.R.E.'s operation. Like the majority of OE programmes, the primary aim is not to teach outdoor skills as such, but to effect some behaviour modification through the development of an appreciation in nature, and an awareness of oneself, and ones impact on the environment.

Cardwell emphasises the necessity for a high level of competence in instructors, with skills in child care and education, as well as possessing a knowledge of the outdoors. Secondly, he stresses programme aftercare, an issue seldom addressed in previous studies. Project D.A.R.E. is not seen as an isolated treatment, but as part of a continuum of care for the adolescent: it may be more a catalyst to further growth and change. Finally, Cardwell's views on selection of programme participants differ slightly from those of the mainstream writers (Kelly and Baer, 1971; Willman and Chun, 1973). Cardwell advocates maintainance of as wide a selection of candidates as possible. It may be that the relatively recent development of Project D.A.R.E. has prevented any recognition of the fact that some character-types and backgrounds may be less suited to an O.B. programme, coupled with the absence of any quantitative analysis of the effects of the project.

In an intensive curriculum guide, Fox et al (1978) outline Project Ranger, an OE programme based on principles of Glasser's Reality Therapy. Glasser's therapy is based on the premise that people have two basic psychological needs: the need to love and be loved, and the need to feel worthwhile. On this basis, the individual, according to Glasser, needs to be involved with at least one other person, and needs to feel that she is of value to others. The basic philosophy behind Project Ranger, is that every person is responsible for her own behaviour.

As a result, three interwoven procedures are the

project's aims, applying Reality Therapy concepts: to attain an involvement and rapport between staff members, to accept each student but reject irresponsible behaviour, and, to teach each student the means of fulfilling her needs. The continuing emphasis is on what is required behaviour, and what behaviour will be rejected, rather than why. In this way, the instigation of Fox et al's principal objective becomes evident: Project Ranger is an attempt to improve school behaviour and academic performance of disruptive students, who are failing in the traditional school programme. The outdoor environment is used as a medium for improving self-control, relationships with peers and adults, and providing skills which will help the student overcome her problems in a regular classroom situation. However, while the objectives of the programme may appear to have an intensively psychological basis, Fox et al are concerned that Project Ranger not be seen as attending exclusively to the `head'. "If a child's body is involved in doing something, the head is quick to follow" (Fox et al, 1978; p.37). Since two-thirds of an individual's time in the project is devoted to OE, this principle is closely followed; the OE curriculum includes affective learning, rope courses and initiative tests, conservation, community and service work projects, field trips and environmental studies. The other third of the participant's time is spent in school, where she works on individualised basic programmes. In support of Cardwell (1976), Fox et al advocate maintainance of a close contact between project staff, the participant's home, and school, so as to ensure that progress is constantly monitored: thus the programme is part of a continuum of care. Fox et

al have not produced any evidence substantiating Project Ranger's success in fulfilling its objectives, since their writings function primarily as a guide to the establishment of such programmes. By extensively analysing each activity, the authors offer welfare agencies proposing an OE programme qualified support for such an alternative, since they identify the benefits and the limitations of OE as an adjunct in the treatment of disruptive children.

A number of OE programmes have been labelled Wilderness Adventure courses. In general, the latter do not differ from those already reviewed, as the emphasis remains on intense physical activities: "The essence of wilderness therapy is in this experience: challenge, the overcoming of a seemingly impossible task, the confrontation with fear, and a success experience" (Nold and Wilpers, 1975; p.1).

The Connecticut Wilderness School seems to be one of the few programmes operating under this label, on which any substantial outcome research has been done. Gaston (1978) carried out an investigation of the 19-day programme, seeking to determine if the teenage participants changed on measures of personality, behaviour, and social interaction. Concurrently, Flood and McCabe (1978) produced a staff report, which provides an extensive explanation of the programme's dynamics. Teenagers are referred to the Wilderness School by 45 agencies, including the juvenile court, state or reform schools, youth service bureaus, and child guidance agencies. Gaston's sample consisted of 113 such referrals, between the ages of 13 and 20 years. A

comparable number of teens from similar agencies served as a control group. Before an individual entered the school, her referring agency was required to complete a behaviour check-list, rating the student on dimensions of problem seriousness, self-awareness, emotional problems, and legal involvement. Demographic and personality pretests were also carried out, and a self-confidence scale assessed self-image. In addition, a random sample of 72 subjects was given a structured interview, dealing with problem-solving strategies in interpersonal situations.

A statistical analysis of results indicated that the Wilderness School subjects were significantly more self confident and internally-oriented than the controls. The experimental group exhibited a significant positive change on the measure of self-image. Furthermore, the latter group generated more solutions to problem situations posed in the interview. In a follow-up six months post-treatment, Gaston reports that the Wilderness School students remained more internally oriented, and on the basis of subjects' self-reports, there was a significantly lower frequency of deviant behaviour in the experimental group, than in the control group. Of the former, 93 percent reported a positive change in themself, and 77.5 percent of the experimental group's parents reported a similar change in their children. However, Gaston does not mention comparative scores for the control group. She asserts that the learned helplessness syndrome (Seligman, 1975) frequently observed in troubled youth will only disappear when the individual learns that responding will improve her prospects in the management of a potentially

difficult situation.

The Flood and McCabe (1978) report outlines factors affecting individual change most of which have been covered in previous research. Their emphasis however, in affecting the major components of the student's environment, family, school and employment, is on the provision of after-care support. Although the Wilderness School programme is of a relatively short duration, continuing contact is kept with participants for a minimum of one year afterwards. Flood and McCabe feel that it is unreasonable to expect a student to permanantly alter a destructive behaviour or attitude, unless the major components of her habitual environment are affected. They support previous writings with their view that the OE programme may only serve as a catalyst (Cardwell, 1976), and that programme after-care should include job placement, attention to alternative living situations where appropriate, personal counselling, re-entry into the education system, and participation in Wilderness School follow-up days. A programme is not seen as a long-term treatment; consequently, Flood and McCabe emphasise the appropriateness of OE for most character-types. The only restrictions which the school imposes, are on juveniles with a history of sexual or violent physical offences, or those emotional problems of the severity that warrant constant clinical supervision.

Following the work of Flood and McCabe (1978) dealing with the Wilderness School, Erickson and Harris (1980) extended the research into a curriculum guide to school-based adventuring with troubled adolescents. Amid a

wealth of issues important to OE, Erickson and Harris identify a number of factors of the actual environment, which in their view, contribute to the success of OE. The outdoor setting is a natural, unyeilding structure, which can be neither manipulated, ignored, nor disregarded by students. Moreover, it is a simplified establishment, in which inhabitants can see the issues of the group clearly, without the complications of outside stimuli. The natural consequences of the outdoors are, according to the writers, concrete, tangible and immediate: if no tent is pitched and it rains, one gets wet. Erickson and Harris continue their explanation by suggesting that voluntary participation is an important consideration, especially when reinforcement is imminent due to the immediate application of learned skills. They further identify the commonly heralded group-dynamic factors of honest confrontation, positive peer interaction, and responsibility being placed on the learner for learning. In this way, Glasser's Reality Therapy principles reappear in a programme where the individual is made to accept responsibility for her own behaviour, and made to realise that while inappropriate behaviour is not accepted, this does not mean that she, as a person is rejected.

A concurrent empirical investigation of the Wilderness School by Harris, McGowan and Olshin (1980) supports the opinions of Erickson and Harris. Firstly, the effects of the Wilderness Challenge, in conjunction with weekly classroom lessons was measured at four alternative schools. The subjects were high school juniors and seniors with emotional problems and learning disabilities. The results

indicated the following: an increase in reading, spelling and maths achievement from 13 to 40 percent; an increase in knowledge of environmental studies from 15 to 55 percent; an improvement in self concepts of between eight and 22 percent; and a 190 percent increase in recreational interest. During the second phase, a small group of students attended a 21-day Wilderness School course, following the preliminary Phase I involvement. These subjects showed a significant increase in self concepts ($p<.05$), and an increase in environmental knowledge.

Despite the absence of comparison groups, the results support a study previously cited (Lee and Schroder, 1969), indicating a correlation between self concept and academic achievement (Layman,1972). The fact remains that the cycle of negative self esteem -> rebellion -> failure -> lowering self esteem -> rebellion, suggested by Erickson and Harris, may be diverted by a programme based on OE principles of psychosomatics.

Svobodny (1979) investigated the outcomes of two intervention programmes for 60 male juvenile offenders. Using a standardised scale of self concepts, the subjects were pretested and as a result of their recent adjudication by a juvenile court, were placed either on probation in their home county, or commenced an intensive three-month programme in a correctional camp. The assignment of youths to either group was not random however, and it would seem that typically, the camp group were thought to be in need of confidence building due to their unsophistication, as compared with the probationers. This is reflected in the

camp subjects' (Group I) lower mean score on the self concept pretest. The correctional camp incorporated educational, work, and recreational experience, with the latter regarded as the most significant variable in the correctional treatment.

At the end of 90 days, the self concept scale was re-employed as a posttest measure for both groups. While acknowledging the difficulties in self-report measures of change, Svobodny maintains the significant increase in self concepts observed in the reports of Group I, can be attributed to the Outward Bound challenge emphasis within the camp: not only did the mean self concept score for the probationers remain static, but Group I's adjusted mean score was significantly higher than Group II's mean score on the posttest ($p<.01$).

Svobodny's study, while supporting previous research, (Lee and Schroder, 1969) may not appear to offer any innovations to the OE model. However, the study has implications for the appropriateness of Outward Bound for particular character-types. Svobodny does not attempt to identify those for whom Outward Bound may be unsuitable, but she maintains the most dramatic self concept improvements may be observed in those juveniles whose problems are generally ones of underreaction, rather than overreaction (Stott, B.S.A.G., 1974). In conclusion, Svobodny points to the necessity for long-term follow-up studies in the evaluation of such programmes, as she admits the absence of the latter in her study is one of its limitations.

Winterdyk (1980) used a true experimental design, with 60 male probationers aged between 13 and 16 years, to evaluate the viability of a 21-day wilderness adventure programme, as an alternative for adjudicated juveniles, placed on probation. The sample was randomly assigned to two groups of 30, and all subjects were pretested on the Jesness Inventory (1972) and the Piers and Harris Self Esteem Scale (1966), which identifies such characteristics as maladjustment, immaturity, withdrawal and anxiety. In addition, behavioural and attitudinal changes were gathered from both groups.

Results of a statistical analysis of posttests and a follow-up four to six months post-treatment did not lend conclusive support to the proposition that such a programme could serve as a viable alternative to probation. Conversely however, descriptive reports of the wilderness adventure programme, and narrative comments by parents and staff, do suggest that the course had a short-term impact on delinquents. Additionally, changes were observed in two of the Jesness Inventory subcategories, indicating the wilderness group may have experienced improved chances in assertiveness and responsibility skills.

In reviewing the results, Winterdyk asserts that the use of alternative forms of delinquent treatment are often the product of convenience and familiarity, rather than developing out of what is in the best interests of the youth. He questions the functional utility of assessing correctional programmes which may be products of a `dumping ground', giving rise to a total conflict of interests; the

researcher is interested in identifying treatment appropriate for particular individuals, but due to an apparent lack of concern by relevant authorities, he experiences difficulty in controlling the independent measures.

Outdoor Education in the New Zealand Context

It is evident that since the historic study in 1971 of Kelly and Baer, wide recognition has been given overseas to the potential use of OE programmes in the rehabilitative treatment of delinquent populations. Over the past five years, this recognition has appeared in the New Zealand context. While the practice of institutionalising delinquent populations still dominates the current system of correction, its effectiveness as a rehabilitative tool is frequently questioned. Three New Zealand studies now discussed, deal with the implementation of OE programmes as an alternative to total institutionalisation, given the uncertainty surrounding the long-term impact of institutional care on delinquents.

Swain (1979) is probably one of the first participant observers to describe the use of Outdoor Pursuits in New Zealand, as a treatment for delinquent youth. Camp Peek was set up in late 1970s, as an alternative treatment for the Social Welfare Department's long-term state wards. Preliminary comments by Swain give an indication of the philosophies which motivated the camp's establishment. He suggests that the two major factors contributing to frequent institutional treatment failure are the resistance

of the inmate culture to change, and the stake the inmate has in maintaining his present identity. If therefore, sabotage of correctional programmes is to be avoided, they must be attractive to youth, as the latter frequently resist what they deem to be `good' for them. As Layman (1972) suggests, for a programme to succeed, it must be seen as more attractive to delinquent groups, than the activities of their subculture. According to Swain, OE has this potential, since he believes for many, a programme of physical challenge is a desirable alternative treatment to traditional institutionalisation.

The Camp Peek course is aimed at three levels: physical skill, which emphasises the development of competence, fitness and confidence in canoeing, bushcraft, rock-climbing; domestic skill, which includes cooking, room care, laundry, with the emphasis on self-sufficiency; and the personal growth and enrichment level, devoted to craft work, recreational group activities, and the usual camp life activities around the camp fire.

Swain paints an identikit picture of the typical Camp Peek trainee as being between the ages of nine and seventeen years, of low socio-economic status, having failed in the school system, of Polynesian descent, having appeared before the juvenile court, and generally verbally and physically aggressive. However, he stresses the deprivation experienced by most boys, and points to the need to demonstrate the alternatives to the youths' current values and lifestyles. The busy daily camp programme during the time of Swain's study ensured the boys'

continual involvement, presenting as few opportunities as possible for inappropriate behaviour.

In an assessment of the initial intake of boys into Camp Peek, Wright (1978) administered a self-evaluation questionnaire, which registered negative and positive changes. On two sub-scales, significant changes were revealed: firstly, 90 percent of those boys who registered change of guilt proneness, apprehension and insecurity, did so in a negative direction, indicating a move in the direction of untroubled adequancy and self-assuredness. Secondly, 75 percent of those who registered change on a scale of conscientiousness, persistence and moral conscience, changed negatively in the direction of expediency and rule disregard. In Wright's opinion, these changes in the boys' self-perception were commensurate with being a member of a highly cohesive group.

Swain (1979) cites Wright's research as evidence of the differential effects of Camp Peek, as compared with the standard programmes in a traditional residential centre for delinquents: the claim is without substantiation however, since no control group was used in the research.

Subsequent to Wright's analysis, Swain followed up a small sample of boys who had attended a Camp Peek programme, during which time Swain assumed role of participant observer, the basis for his report currently reviewed. In an informal study 15 months post-discharge, Swain sought to determine whether camp participants recidivated at the same rate as their traditional

institution counterparts. Of 12 boys, three were serving borstal sentences, three were on probation, of which one was subsequently sent to a detention centre, and the other two were convicted and discharged for minor offences. The remaining six boys (50 percent) had not offended, and Swain maintains that most of them had received good reports recommending discharge from care. As a comparison, Swain refers to a study carried out in the early 1960s, which reported a recidivism rate of 61 percent for those discharged from traditional institutions, with an increase of almost 30 percent, to 90 percent after four years. While he agrees that only cautious comparison can be made between this recidivism rate and that of the small sample from Camp Peek, Swain fails to realise that the comparison is in fact, totally invalid. In a subsequent report on Camp Peek, Luketina (1979) points to the invalidity of comparing 1961 recidivism data with a 1979 sample, identifying a number of circumstantial changes likely to have occurred in the 18-year time lapse between the two. He asserts that the Camp Peek follow-up for that particular group of boys was further invalidated, because two subjects on whom data was not available were excluded. It would seem that efforts toward a follow-up study were merely a token gesture, and since the results are fraught with invalidity, they should be disregarded.

Despite this, Swain does provide a useful commentary on a programme of OE juxtaposed geographically with a traditional institution. In accounting for the possible success of the camp, he identifies group size as a critical factor, the optimum group having eight to ten members.

Swain maintains that a caring supportive atmosphere, with the removal of the `them' and `us' barrier can be developed with small group, fostering good social relations: he observed an improvement in group dynamics when a large group was broken into two groups of eight boys.

Secondly, Swain emphasises the necessity for staff to be committed to camp goals, along with good organisational skills and flexibility. Good judgement is the most critical factor, as Swain identifies the element of risk involved in taking certain activities, necessitating a recognition by staff of the ill-defined line between sense and folly. Finally, he poses the question of whether such a camp programme developed for a delinquent population should be run as a democracy, or in an autocratic, disciplinarian way. He feels that the former was more evident at Camp Peek, but did not exist without problems of discouragement and unrewarding periods, even for the most idealistic and motivated staff members.

Bauer (1982) maintains that the popularity of Outward Bound-type experiences as a corrective measure in New Zealand is a result of the evidence of their success overseas. He is aware however, of the limitations of such programmes, given in particular the absence of follow-up assistance for participants. In support of several other writers (Cardwell, 1976; Flood and McCabe, 1978), Bauer does not see an OE programme in isolation, but feels it is best described as an `ignition phase' of community-based intervention.

In investigating the recidivism rate in a group of probationers participating in an Outdoor Pursuits course, Bauer models his study on the original Kelly and Baer study (1971). A group of 12 probationers participated in two five-day Outward Bound courses, the primary aim of which was to develop a strong sense of achievement, resulting from an encouraging experience. Attempts were made to assess any change in self confidence or participants, but the reliability of this data is questionable: "Staff reported observable gains during the course for the majority of probationers" (Bauer, 1982; p.24). The interobserver reliability is described as `reasonable', but it seems likely that a halo effect may have existed, as the staff observers were not rating `blind', and no comparative data on self confidence was available.

On the recidivism variable, Bauer does however produce convincing evidence of a decline in offending in the Outward Bound course participants, which is significantly different to the recidivism rate in a group of controls. Recidivism in the Outward Bound group decreased from 66 percent pre-course to nil, six months post-course. This compared with a 30 percent decrease for the control group over the same period, from 60 percent to 30 percent. In the second six month follow-up, 25 percent of the experimental group had reoffended, compared with 30 percent of the control group.

Bauer concludes that while his results support those described by Kelly and Baer (1971), the effectiveness of the Outward Bound course in reducing the recidivism rate

appeared to be of only limited duration. He stresses that similar effects would not be observed in every course incorporating OE principles, but of paramount importance is effective planning, to provide a course which has: "A good time, as well as systematic and effective assistance toward self improvement." (Bauer, 1982; p.25)

Easthope, Riley and Campbell (1982) similarly used recidivism as a dependent variable in an assessment study of an outdoor expeditionary project for a group of probationers. They reason that it is one of the few readily observable, or publicly available behavioural outcome variables. While not denying the reality of this fact, it must be recognised that for some evaluation purposes however, recidivism rate is not a dependent variable. In the case of an OE programme for maladjusted juveniles, particularly those in their early teens, delinquency may not (yet) be evident, and change is more likely to be sought in the areas of social skills, emotional stability, and self confidence.

The project evaluated by Easthope et al involved three separate parts. The first two parts were short weekend courses, where participants were orientated to and taught skills which would be useful on the expedition. The main part of the course involved a one-week expedition in mountain bush country. A high level of physical demand was placed on participants, and since the expedition took place some considerable distance from any settlement, reliance on available resources was necessary.

The sample consisted of an experimental group of 16 probationers and a matched control group. For each subject, data was collected on rate of offending over four periods: six to twelve months before treatment; six months immediately prior to treatment; six months immediately after treatment; and finally, six to twelve months post-treatment. This data was gathered from the computer histories of each subject, with the guidance of their respective probation officers.

Results indicated a significant difference between the two groups post-treatment, in rate of offending, as measured by number of court appearances. Twelve months later, 14 out of the 16 subjects from the outdoor course showed an improvement in recidivism from 12 months pre-treatment, compared with only five of the 12 subjects in the control group.

The research results led Easthope et al to conclude that the marked decrease in offending observed in the outdoor course participants could be unambiguously interpreted as support for Kelly and Baer (1971) and Bauer (1982).

The current review has addressed itself to a large number of programmes based on some of the principles of Outdoor Education, both overseas, and in New Zealand, in an attempt to demonstrate the practical application of these principles, and the reasons for its success or failure to rehabilitate delinquent groups. All that remains it to reconsider the principle issues raised in the introduction:

is there more to Outdoor Education than the mere physics of any activity? Furthermore, it is an appropriate tool in the treatment of adolescents who suffer social and emotional adjustment problems?

There seems to be little doubt that the actual physical challenge of OE programmes is not an end in itself: education through experience is not a masochistic effort aimed at physical exhaustion in its participants. It is aimed more at extracting psychological benefits, resulting from simulated challenge activities.

Outdoor Education is..."like electricity, we know it works, but are not sure why". (Kelly, 1974; p.10)

On the basis of the research, it is now possible one decade later, to offer Kelly some solutions to his dilemma. Learning seems to occur best through direct experience in an environment unfamiliar to the learner: in a novel challenging situation, an OE participant may no longer be able to take refuge in her previously-practised responses, particularly if the latter are socially inappropriate. She is forced to acquire a new set of coping skills and strategies, if survival is to be achieved. In this way, OE is changing not only the individual, but the process by which she responds to potentially difficult situations, be they academic, social, emotional or environmental. What factors then, contribute to the appropriate use of OE in the treatment of `at-risk' adolescents? The emphasis in OE is on action and experience, instead of the vicarious nature of traditional counselling and treatment methods.

The focus is not on analytical aspects, but in Reality Therapy form, behaviour change is used to change attitudes, and not vice versa: the emphasis on why is replaced with what.

The outdoors is an environment generally removed from the delinquent's usual daily life, and therefore her usual patterns of behaviour and assumptions may be challenged, since typically, the natural outdoor environment dictates its own set of rules.

The group element of an OE programme frequently requires a cooperation and cohesion never previously experienced by youth. Appropriate responses are learned to situations which the youth discovers, are frustrating or stressful to most individuals. Programmes are structured so that success is generally unavoidable: that is, goals are easily achieved, but the incremental increase of programme difficulty ensures that the potential does exist for improvement, albeit gradual.

As has been illustrated, quantitative evidence of the success of OE programmes with delinquent or `at-risk' populations, is seldom available, due to a multitude of research difficulties and methodological problems in empirical design. However, on the basis of the current study of an OE programme, it appears that a qualitative study may be more appropriate in terms of evaluating rehabilitative programmes based on OE. Anecdotal and subjective though such an evaluation may be, it is evident that such a study can give a greater insight into the

mechanics of an OE-based programme, and its impact on participants, than a purely quantitative study, which may face problems of internal validity. Even where an experimental study can be controlled sufficiently to produce results considered valid, the subjective nature of the dependent variables frequently measured, and the unpredictability of the delinquent population may reduce its reliability. As a result, it seems unlikely that future research will lead to quantitative substantiation of the `elixir' properties of OE.

Similarly, evidence of OE and recreation programmes' latent effects on leisure is non-existent. It would seem that teaching the benefits of a constructive use of leisure time is seldom a priority in programmes. The possibility is not denied that programmes may have positive side-effects on participants' long-term choice of leisure activities, but it would seem that the latency of these effects mitigates against any measurement of them.

STATEMENT OF THE HYPOTHESES

HYPOTHESIS I. That girls who participate in the Outdoor Education programme will show a greater improvement in social adjustment than girls in regular school programmes.

HYPOTHESIS II. That girls who participate in the Outdoor Education programme will show higher self concepts than girls in regular school programmes.

HYPOTHESIS III. That girls who participate in the Outdoor Education programme will perform more appropriate classroom behaviour than girls in regular school programmes.

RATIONALE FOR THE HYPOTHESES

Kelly and Baer (1971) describe the use of colleges based on OE in treating delinquents, and showed that only 20 percent of youths attending an Outward Bound school recidivated, compared with a 42 percent recidivism rate for a matched control group, who had been either institutionalised or paroled in the traditional manner. While the authors do not regard OE as a total alternative, since they believe it is not necessarily appropriate for all delinquents, Kelly and Baer advocate its use as an adjunct incorporated into existing institutional treatment.

In a New Zealand study, Easthope, Riley and Campbell (1982) offer support to Kelly and Baer, demonstrating how an Outdoor Expeditionary project was successful in reducing recidivism in probationers. Self reliance and a high level of physical demand was required of the probationers on a number of rugged expedition exercises, and Easthope et al attribute the subsequent drop in rate of reoffending to the participants' improved management of emotionally and physically challenging situations.

While recidivism is not a relevant measure of effectiveness of a short-term outdoor treatment programme within a residential juvenile institution, improved management skills may be demonstrated in ways more appropriate to the institution environment.

In outlining the aims and objectives of the OE programme in its initial stages of implementation at the

beginning of 1981, personal growth and development of girls was uppermost in the minds of the coordinator: "...by presenting the girls with a totally new set of situations, in which her existing ones are inappropriate, this may be achieved" (Kelly, 1981; p.2).

He believed that by developing self reliance, an increase in self awareness would follow, thereby challenging present values and attitudes of girls: "In exposing the girls to new situations and experiences, they will learn new skills, skills which hopefully will be transmitted into the classroom, work or social situation" (Kelly, 1981; p.2).

After one term of the programme being in effect, the coordinator included the following comments in his appraisal of the class: "For a group given much leeway in terms of responses to a series of situations and activities, there were few disappointments regarding anti-social behaviour"..."As the term progressed, a real group feeling began to develop.This culminated towards the end of the term where seven girls actually got along without argument and dispute"..."It was with much pleasure that I saw girls communicating with each other in such a pleasant and mature manner"..."Whatever the reasons for the beneficial changes in classroom behaviour and attitudes, the simple fact remains that the girls worked well in the classroom situation with a minimum of supervision and very minimumal poor behaviour" (Kelly, 1981; p.4-6).

Two years on, at the beginning of 1983, staff at the

centre believed the OE programme to be effective in modifying the attitudes of participants towards themselves, their peers, and staff, and moreover, resulting in an increase in the amount of school work done during the in-class periods.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Primarily, it is hoped that the study will be a useful evaluation of the effectiveness of such a programme as an alternative to regular class programmes within the institution. Since this is only the third year in which the OE class has been operating, the institution administrators in particular, are interested in any assessment of its relative benefits for the purposes of future financial and curriculum planning.

Outside of the institution, the study may offer generalisations to other juvenile establishments considering alternative programmes for maladjusted children. While OE is frequently heralded as the modern day panacea for delinquents, empirical evidence of its success with juvenile institutionalised populations is scarce. Where such evidence is available, evaluation is of isolated OE courses or camps: attempts are seldom made to assess programmes of OE which are incorporated into an existing establishment.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODOLOGY

SUBJECTS

The study drew from a population of adolescent girls, aged from 13 to 16 years, resident in a Social Welfare home, attending school at the latter. The girls were all either temporary or permanant wards of the state, due to various social emotional and educational adjustment problems.

A total of 37 girls were included in the study during the year. However, this is a maximum figure, due to the transient nature of the population. The aggregate for each term was determined by the total number of girls in three teachers' classes, from which the OE class was drawn. Selection was not random, since existing class groups were utilised, class placement being dependent upon a consensus decision by teachers.

Basically, the school consisted of five classes: the assessment class into which most new girls were admitted for up to six weeks; the School Certificate class; the pre-work experience class; the work experience class, and the Outdoor Education class. Near the end of each term, a staff review of individual girls and class sizes determined the composition of the five classes for the following term. In general, those girls selected for the OE class were from the assessment class, if none of the other classes was considered appropriate for a particular girl, at that

stage. However, a number of girls were drawn from the pre-work experience class, where OE was seen as a more suitable option than their existing class.

Hence, the girls in the OE class in Terms II and III respectively, were the experimental or treatment group, and the remaining girls in the three classes previously cited, became the control group. As mentioned however, the number of subjects in each group in any one term varied, depending on the availability of individual girls at that time.

The study was essentially therefore, a non-equivalent control group design, since the subjects were not randomly assigned to either experimental or control groups. A further explanation of the design will be made in the procedures section.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE

The independent variable was the Outdoor Education Course. Its characteristics, identified in a report submitted at the end of 1981, the inaugural year of operation, forms the basis for the course description which follows, on the understanding that the 1983 OE course would follow a similar curriculum. The programme took the form of a regular school class with a permanant teacher, and a reasonably static roll of girls. The programme differed from regular school classes in that girls selected for the course participated in a weekly timetable of activities presumed to be a differentiated curriculum. The programme operated on a ratio of three days of OE activities to two days of regular school work, on a term basis for groups of eight to ten girls. At the end of the term, the girls would return to a more regular school programme in whichever of the remaining four classes was most appropriate at the time.

The timetable of the OE class indicated that on Tuesday and Thursday of every week, a regular school programme would be followed within the classroom, while the other days would be spent in a variety of informal activities. The regular class time did include some informal options, during which time the girls could choose to do either sewing, pottery or woodwork. The other three weekdays, Monday, Wednesday and Friday, were to be devoted to the OE activities which distinguished the class from the other classes in the centre.

Four key groups of activities were to be necessarily incorporated into the programme. While the purpose of any activity in the OE programme is to induce a psychological change towards more self confidence, and a feeling of well being, there are exclusive elements within different OE activities which determine the means by which this end is achieved. The key groups of activities identify these differential means.

Firstly, a principal part of a term's programme would be three camps: two of three days duration, and the third lasting five days. Depending on their location, these would involve makeshift accomodation in tents, cabins or farm buildings, and use of temporary facilities for washing and cooking. In this way development of alternative living, cooking and coping skills would be required for survival in an environment unfamiliar to the participants. Further to this, on camps where circumstances allowed, time would be spent tramping, and practising bushcraft skills, and also mastering river and wirebridge crossing techniques. Preparation and execution of a Maori hangi was also to be a part of at least one of the camps. Where finance permitted, a skiing trip was also considered beneficial as an OE activity.

The second key group of activities would involve rock work: the girls would be taught by a qualified instructor, to scale rock faces using the abseil, and other climbing techniques. The third key area would expose programme participants to water experiences, requiring the development of skills associated with canoeing, rafting and

sailing. These activities and those mentioned in the former key group concerning rock climbing, are the primary means of physically challenging participants. Whereas the unfamiliarity of the environment is the factor determining the `challenge' nature of the camp activities, it is the risk involved, and the imminence of physical danger in the latter, water and rock work, which constitute the challenge element.

The fourth key activity would be horse riding, the girls attending a riding school one afternoon per week, to gain confidence and to acquire equestrian skills.

Apart from these four group imperatives, other activities would include roller and ice skating at local public rinks, weight training and squash at a local gymnasium complex, and a number of traditional `phys-ed' oriented activities, like swimming, jogging and team ball games. Further to these activities, a substantial number of socio-experiential-cultural visits to places of interest would occur, encompassing historical, zoological, industrial and service aspects of the city and surrounding region. The agenda would include parks, museums, factories and social institutions.

This then, was intended to be the basis for a class programme labelled Outdoor Education, and for the purposes of the present study, was the treatment variable.

DEPENDENT VARIABLE

The three dependent variables in the study were measured at the end of each term.

1) The way the subjects felt about themselves was measured by means of a standardised test, the Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale (1969). This ipsative scale consists of 80 items, statements of self conceptual feelings. Since it requires only a yes/no response, its simplicity makes it suitable for subjects aged from seven years. It is relatively straightforward to administer, and for this reason it was chosen to ascertain self concepts in a sample wherein participants were not altogether voluntary. The scale was administered to subjects on an individual basis, or where possible, in small groups. Entire group administration, as advocated by the authors was not appropriate: the non-voluntary participation of subjects may have lead to a situation of `group-responding', invalidating the scores.

Results of a factor analysis by Piers and Harris (1969) reveal that the items on the scale load on six factors: behaviour, intellectual and school status, physical appearance, anxiety, popularity, and happiness and satisfaction. A factor analysis of items from self concept data gathered in the present study was not attempted, due to the large number of items either left unanswered, or responded to invalidly. Circumstances such as these were not acknowledged by Piers and Harris, who state

categorically in the instructions, that every item must be answered, and deem it the responsibility of the administrator to ensure this is so. While every effort was made in the present study to obtain a complete responding rate, the closely supervised administration advocated by the authors was not possible, as it would have been to risk total refusal to cooperate by subjects.

To correct for the effects of acquiescence, the scale has both negatively and positively-worded items, and consequently the scorer allocates one mark for each agreement with a positive self concept, and a mark for each denial of a negative self concept, resulting in a maximum score of 80 points.

Percentile ranking of raw scores were based on the norming carried out by Piers and Harris (1969), on a sample of children (n = 1138) ranging from fourth to twelfth grade. For New Zealand purposes, the scale was subsequently administered to 168 fourth form girls, regular school counterparts of the subjects in the present study (1983, Figure 1). This resulted in a mean score within .59 of that of the United States' group; consequently, the U.S. percentiles were considered an appropriate comparative ranking system in the use of the Piers and Harris.

2) The social and emotional adjustment of subjects was measured through the use of the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide (1956). The guide is a means of assessing behaviour disturbances or maladjustment in children aged from five to

sixteen years. It is composed of three versions of identification of maladjustment: the Child in School (1971), the Child in Residential Care (1956), and the Child in the Family (1956). Each edition consists of a series of descriptive phrases of a child's responses to a defined situation, and the observer/teacher/social worker is required to underline those phrases which apply to the child being assessed. The assumption is made that the observer has had sufficient contact with the child over the period of a month prior to completing the guide, and is thereby in a position to identify her ways of behaving. No special training or psychological knowledge is deemed necessary, apart from a basic professional experience with children.

Scoring of the guide divides the behaviours identified into two principal scales: underreaction (unract) and overreaction (ovract). These two scales further deliniate five core behavioural syndromes, with a number of associated groupings. Stott et al (1974) considered the use of these main scales as more representative than an overall B.S.A.G. score (1956), suggesting a medical health analogy between the unract and ovract scores, and the broad division between chronic and acute illness.

Within the underreaction division of the Child in School edition, occurs three syndromes: unforthcomingness, withdrawal, and depression. Unforthcomingness indicates a deficiency of effective motivation or self assertion, resulting in a failure to master apprehension about facing new situations or tasks. In Stott's analysis, such a

description manifests itself in a refusal to take initiatives, or to respond in new situations. While an appearance may be given of mental deficiency, normal competence will be demonstrated in a situation where the unforthcoming child feels at ease; however, in general, normal needs for affection will be observed, since the withdrawal is from strange and complex tasks, not from affectional relationships.

Withdrawal, according to Stott, is a syndrome in which indifference to human affiliations may be observed, accompanied by set defensiveness against them. There are many variations of unresponsiveness, often labelled autism, but within the B.S.A.G. it is an identification of children who fail to communicate.

The third syndrome on the unract scale is that of depression, indicating a lack of response to stimuli to which children usually respond, but without the withdrawal or apprehension observed in the former syndrome. It often manifests itself in lethargy, lack of energy, or laziness.

In diagnosis, Stott describes one further associated grouping, that of non-syndromic underreaction, which can be interpreted as support for whichever of the unract core syndromes is/are present.

There are two core syndromes on the overreaction scale: inconsequence, and hostility. Inconsequence is essentially a child's failure to inhibit impulsive behaviour, wherein there is no mental rehearsal of

consequences. Trial and error may occur as a child's primitive means of managing a problem, frequently leading to an aggressive response of frustration at its failure. As a result of this discouragement, a child may consciously avoid such tasks, but develops a range of displacement activities which may cause her to be rejected. Stott identifies defenses of anti-social and hostile attitudes, to complete the self-fulfilled cycle.

The second core syndrome on the ovract scale, is that of hostility, which incorporates attack and avoidance behaviours, motivated by an effort to sever a love relationship. Reactions of moodiness, sullen periods, or aggressive provocative acts are observed, in a child's refusal to allow others close to her. Often physical self-banishing may occur, in the form of absconding and offending, which effectively remove the child from those she is averse to. Ovract associated groupings include peer maladaptiveness, and non-syndromic overreaction. Peer maladaptiveness may arise from a child's poor relationship with her peers as a result of her hostility and inconsequential behaviours; and non-syndromic overreactio behaviours are a means of defense or pseudo-adjustment adopted by the child in an effort to retain a `normal' behavioural image.

In the B.S.A.G. No.3, the Child in Residential Care edition, four additional syndromic categories are used in diagnosis: overdependence occurs within the unract scale and anxious overreaction, human unconcern, and peer group deviance are all syndromes within the ovract scale.

In this way, the phrases originally underlined by observers, describing an individual child's response to a defined situation are summarised into diagnostic form, more readily accessible to those not in constant contact with the child. Hence it was appropriate for the researcher's use in the present study. "Since the B.S.A.G. provides essentially a contemporary assessment of a child's behaviour, its completion at intervals, say, of 3 or 6 months, can be used as a means of assessing the effects of particular therapies, or of placement in a special school or class" (B.S.A.G. manual, 1974; p.7).

For the purposes of the present study, two forms of the B.S.A.G. were used: the Child in School (1971 edition, No.2), and the Child in Residential Care (1956 edition, No.3). For each subject, the teacher and the case social worker completed the guide, at the end of each term, and their respective judgements were scored into the unract and ovract scales, and corresponding core syndromes devised by Stott. However, given that the B.S.A.G. was only one of three dependent measures in the study, only the underreaction and overreaction score changes were utilised to any length; changes in subjects' scores were referred to only on an individual basis, where a more specific assessment was required.

3) The third dependent variable in the study was the appropriateness of the classroom behaviour of subjects. This was measured by means of observations, carried out in the classroom over a period of two weeks at the end of each term. These observations took the form of a time sampling

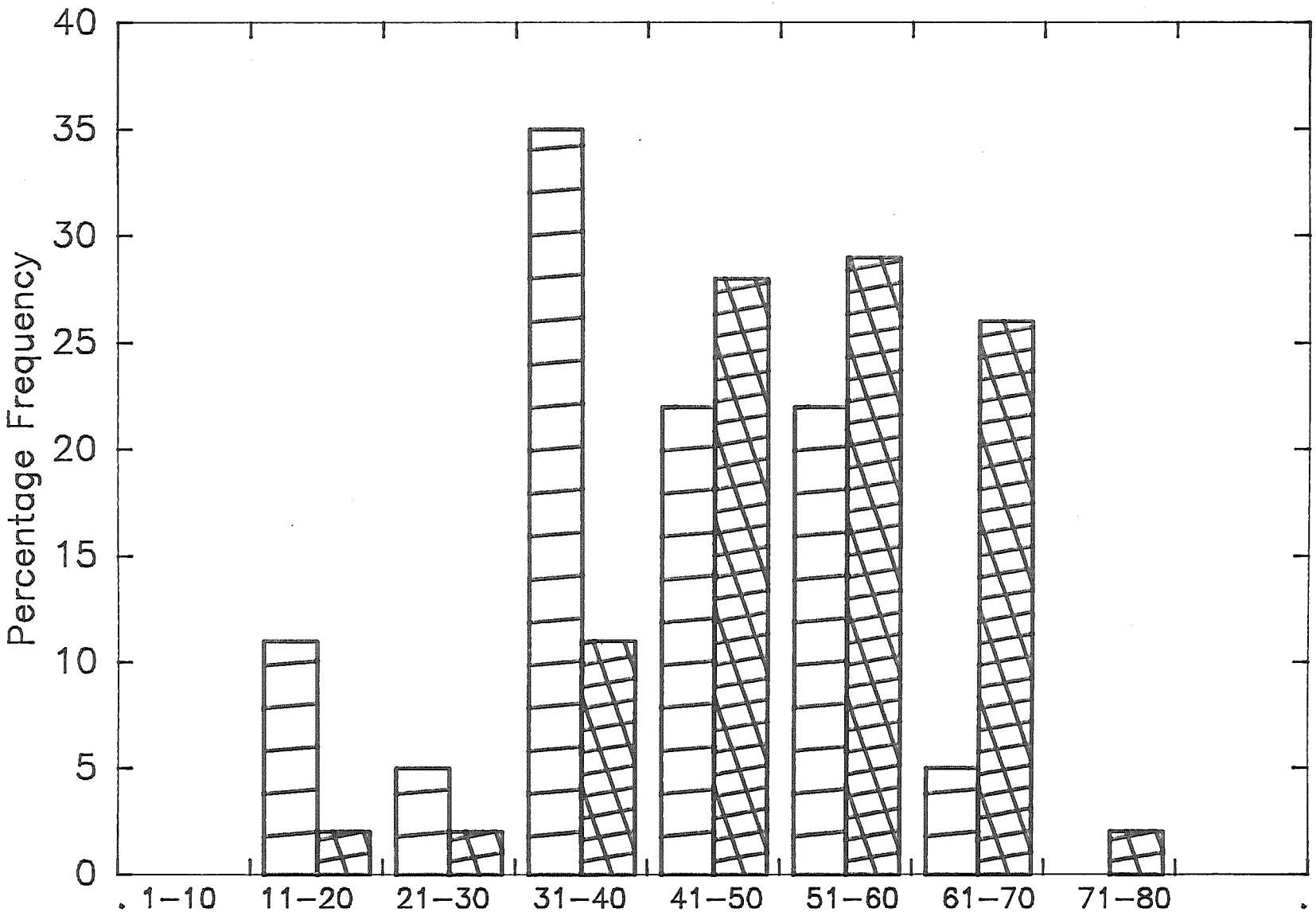
procedure: a subject was observed for four 15 second periods, with a maximum of 15 seconds' interval between observations, allowing for recording. At the end of 15 seconds, the observer recorded if the subject's behaviour was appropriate or inappropriate for the majority (>50 percent) of the period. This judgement was made on the individual basis of what the teacher required of that particular girl during that time: if the girl's actions complied with the teacher's directions, and he had not requested a change in behaviour, it was recorded as appropriate (A.B.). If the girl's behaviour was judged inappropriate (I.B.), the observer was further required to identify it as either passive, verbal or motor, and define the specific inappropriate behaviour by selecting one of several options available. `Passive' behaviour incorporated any I.B. in which the subject neither spoke, nor moved from her seat. It included any reading, day-dreaming, listening and fiddling. `Verbal' behaviour included any I.B. in which the subject made a noise, while remaining in her seat. The observer identified the verbal behavior as directed at either the teacher, another girl, or simply `undirected', which included laughter and any exclamation which a subject emitted, to a person or persons non-specific, including the observer. `Motor', was any behaviour in which the subject was out of her seat, and included wandering aimlessly, both mutual and disruptive interaction with other girls, standing at the window, and total departure from the classroom.

In this way, no attempt was made to judge subjects' behaviour as being either `on-task' or `off-task', in an

exceptional classroom environment, in which `normal' classroom procedures did not always occur. Since each subject is following an individualised work plan, a measure of whether her in-class behaviour is appropriate or not, is more relevant, given the rationale behind the classroom (dependent) variable: "...the girls worked well in the classroom situation with a minimum of supervision, and very mimimumal poor behaviour" (Kelly, 1981; p.4).

Each recording sheet, containing eight minutes of observations, also held a record of the number of girls in the classroom. This was recorded in the belief that the number of girls in the classroom may affect the behaviour of girls. However since the total class population could vary even within one sheet of recordings, no use was made of this data.

Fig 1: Self Concept Score Distribution : Subjects(red) Norm Group(blue)



PROCEDURES

At the end of Term I, 24 subjects, the girls in three teachers' classes, were pretested on all three measures. Classroom observations were carried out subject to availability of girls; the Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale was adminstered to all girls; and two forms of the B.S.A.G. were completed on each subject, by their respective teachers and social workers. During the second term, a small number of girls entered the OE class: three girls at the beginning of the term, and two more girls mid-way through the term. It should be noted however, that it was not always possible to gather data on all three measures for every subject entering the OE programme. The mid-term admission of girls into the institution, or their temporary absence at the time of testing, mitigated against their inclusion in the pretested sample the previous term. The remainder of the subjects pretested, continued work on regular school programmes, within the three classes mentioned: School Certificate, pre-work experience, and the assessment class.

At the end of Term II, 20 subjects, the girls in these three classes were posttested - or pretested in the case of girls recently admitted to the school - on the three dependent measures. The five girls in the OE class were also posttested. The issue of subject availability raised in Term I, again arose during Term II testing. Classroom observations were made of the maximum number of subjects present in the classroom over the two to three week period

at the end of the term. Concurrently, self concept scales were administered to all subjects present during the last week. Ultimately, the B.S.A.G. was distributed to the teachers and case social workers of the girls' in the four classes. If however, due to a girl's prolonged absence, no classroom observations could be made, nor a self concept scale administered, no attempt was made to gather data on social adjustment, by means of the B.S.A.G.

The third term procedures followed exactly those of Term II. Four girls were assigned to the OE class at the beginning of the term, and three girls continued in the class from Term II, of which only one remained until the time of final posttesting at the end of Term III. Moreover, by the time of this final posttest, a number of girls recently admitted to the centre had entered the OE class. Since no pretest data was available on them, they were not included in the study except two girls, who for reasons of classroom diplomacy, completed self concept scales.

Of the subjects who completed the OE programme, one girl went into the School Certificate class, one girl went into the pre-work experience class, and three girls went into the work experience class.

At the end of Term III, available subjects, both in the experimental and control groups, were posttested on the three measures. However, due to the close proximity of the end-of-year ceremony, with disrupted school programmes and associated rise in anxiety levels for girls uncertain about

vacation plans, subject unavailability was an even greater problem than in the previous two terms. The high rate of absconding from the centre, and unwillingness on the part of some subjects to cooperate, particularly in the completion of self concept scales, meant that data was, on occasions, totally unobtainable. For this final posttest, 13 girls were included: the control group consisted of eight subjects and the experimental group totalled five subjects. Two girls who had been in the OE class during Term II were excluded from analysis of either group in Term III: they did not serve as controls, having previously participated in the OE class, and since they were not in the OE class in the third term, their scores were not included in the Term III experimental group. However, their Term III self concept scores are included in Table 7, to establish an overall mean self concept score for institutionalised females, for comparison with their non-institutionalised counterparts (Fig. 1).

As indicated, the total number of subjects available for testing from term to term and from test to test varied. Data for each variable was therefore treated separately, as the sample size was not constant. On the following page is a descriptive outline of the number of subjects in their respective groups for each variable.

Self Concepts

	Term I	Term II	Term III
Expt. I	n = 4	n = 5	*
Expt.II	*	n = 4	n = 6
Controls	n = 20	n = 20	n = 14

Social Adjustment - School

Expt. I	n = 3	n = 3	*
Expt. II	*	n = 5	n = 5
Control I	n = 12	n = 12	*
Control II	*	n = 8	n = 8

Social Adjustment - Residential

Expt. I	n = 2	n = 2	*
Expt.II	*	n = 5	n = 5
Control I	n = 11	n = 11	*
Control II	*	n = 8	n = 8

Classroom Behaviour

Expt.	{n = 16}	n = 5	n = 3
Control	{n = 16}	n = 13	n = 7

Self Concepts

The Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale (1969) was scored in the manner directed by the authors: one mark was allocated for every correct response, giving a maximum score of 80. The U.S. percentile rankings were used, their validity for a New Zealand population having been established. However, mean raw scores were made use of in comparing the self concepts of the control and experimental groups in the study. Due to the lack of continuity in subjects available to complete the Piers and Harris Scale, no attempt was made to assess changes in individual self concepts across terms.

Social Adjustment

Since data on subjects' social adjustment was more readily obtainable, individual changes in social adjustment across terms were assessed. In completing the respective editions of the B.S.A.G., the subjects' teachers and social workers underlined those phrases which best described subjects. The guides were subsequently scored through the use of templates which identify maladjustment syndromes within the underreaction and overreaction scales. Since the templates identify symptoms of maladjustment only, the closer a subject's score is to zero, the greater her level of social adjustment.

On both the two B.S.A.G. editions used, only the total unract and ovract scores were utilised. No formal analysis of data was performed, as the raw scores provided sufficient information to assess any group differences. The means of these raw scores were calculated for Control Groups I and II, and the corresponding experimental groups, over the two time periods Term I - II and Term II - III. Subsequent to this, mean pretest and posttest scores for control subjects and experimental subjects in both terms were calculated, presenting an overall image of the social adjustment level of subjects in respective groups.

The changes in subjects' unract and ovract scores were calculated by subtracting individual posttest scores from pretest scores. A mean score which was negative indicated an overall improvement in social adjustment, and a positive mean score indicated a deterioration in social adjustment.

Finally, the mean changes in scores of the combined terms control group, and experimental group were calculated. This enabled an overall comparison of the improvement or deterioration of respective groups, over the entire year.

Classroom Behaviour

The classroom observations for each term were transferred to recording sheets for individuals, and each subject's total observation time was converted to a percentage to facilitate easy comparison across terms. Percentages were also necessary because of the differential total time for which subjects were observed. A minimum of ten minutes observation time on one subject was considered sufficient, with a maximum time of 20-25 minutes.

For each subject therefore, the time spent performing appropriate behaviour was expressed as a percentage of the total time she was observed in the classroom. Similarly, the occurrence of passive, verbal and motor inappropriate behaviours was converted to a percentage, and constituted the remainder of the time she was observed in the classroom.

No attempt was made to compare individual subject's across-term changes, since pretest and posttest data was available on only two subjects in the Term II experimental group, and one subject in the third term experimental group. Consequently, the data was used for group comparisons only. The mean percentage of appropriate

behaviour performed by control subjects and experimental subjects in Terms II and III was calculated. Comparison was only made between the two groups within respective terms. No comparison can be made between the classroom performance of the experimental group in Term II with the experimental group in Term III, as the group was composed of different subjects. Similarly, while there were subjects common to both terms' control groups, the mean scores cannot be compared.

CHAPTER THREE

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL ADJUSTMENT

Child in School (B.S.A.G. No.2)

Tables 1 (i) & (ii), Table 2, and Table 3 (i) & (ii)

The mean raw score differences presented in Table 3 (i) indicate the extent of improvement or deterioration in the social adjustment of subjects, according to the reports of their respective teachers. As noted, a decrease in score indicates an improvement in social adjustment, and an increase in score suggests a deterioration in social adjustment. When the mean score changes of the experimental and control groups are compared, there is little difference between the two groups, on either the underreaction (unract) or overreaction (ovract) scales.

On the unract scale, both groups showed a slight positive mean score difference, indicating a general tendancy for subjects to deteriorate in their social adjustment over the three month period. However, the relatively large standard deviations demonstrating the wide variability in the scores of subjects in both groups suggests that there was no genuine change in the level of underreacting behaviour of subjects. Furthermore, there was minimumal difference between the mean score change of the experimental group and that of the control group (0.32 vs 0.25).

Similarly, on the ovract scale, there was a tendancy

for the scores of subjects in both groups to increase. On the basis of the mean score changes, the experimental group appeared to deteriorate more than the control group (2.63 vs 0.15). However, as for the unract scale, there was considerable variation among the scores of subjects' suggesting that neither the overall change for the worse, nor the between group differences would be significant.

According to this B.S.A.G. assessment by the centre's teachers, there was little difference between the social adjustment of girls who had participated in the OE programme, and the girls in regular school programmes. Not only were there improvements and deteriorations in the social adjustment of individual girls observed in both groups, but most subjects' scores changed markedly across Terms I, II, and III, regardless of what school programme they had been following.

Child in Residential Care (B.S.A.G. No.3)
Tables 4 (i) & (ii), Table 5, and Tables 6 (i) & (ii)

The observations of the case social workers of subjects' in the study, while indicating a more consistent pattern across groups, also supports the null hypothesis. On the unract scale, the mean score differences suggest that both groups changed in a negative direction, towards better social adjustment. While the experimental group's mean decreased slightly more than the control group (-1.43 v -0.58), the standard deviations suggest that this difference is not large enough to be important.

The mean score change on the ovract scale was almost identical for the two groups (0.43 vs 0.42). Both showed an overall slight increase in overreacting behaviours, with the scores of the experimental group varying slightly more.

As was evident from the teachers' observations, Table 4 (ii) shows that subjects in both groups were likely to improve and deteriorate in social adjustment. There were no consistent trends in either direction, for either the experimental group or the control group.

Thus, there was no evidence from the case social workers' reports of subjects, to suggest that girls who were in the OE class, showed a greater improvement in social adjustment as a result of participation in the programme.

In considering the analysis of reports of the two groups of observers within the institution, it seems that the following conclusions can be made: in terms of social adjustment, as measured by the Bristol guides, there was little difference between girls in the OE programme, and girls in regular school class programmes. Both groups of girls exhibited changes in social adjustment, according to their observers in directions of both improvement and deterioration.

If the B.S.A.G. is a reliable measure of social adjustment, it may be concluded therefore that the OE programme was no more effective than a regular school programme in modifying the social adjustment of girls.

However, a point concerning the reliability of reported changes in subjects' underreaction and overreaction scores must be made. While in most cases, the same observer completed the assessment form for each subject across terms, there were a number of occasions when a different observer assessed a particular subject; for example, when a subject changed classes. However, subjects for whom major score changes are evident, were not consistently those whose observers changed: the same observer seemed as likely as two different observers to report changes in subjects across terms.

On the basis of the observations of teachers and social workers, there was no evidence of any support for the first hypothesis; that girls who participate in the Outdoor Education programme would show a greater improvement in social adjustment than their counterparts in regular school programmes.

SELF CONCEPTS

Tables 7 (i) & (ii)

As can be seen from Table 7 (i), at the end of Term I, the mean self concept score for all subjects was 41, representing the 21st percentile on a raw score scale of 0-80. As previously mentioned, these percentiles were based on Piers and Harris (1969) norms and compared favourably with the means obtained in a New Zealand norming study (1983), carried out with subjects from three high schools, who were the same age as those institutionalised females in the present study (Figure 1). The variance in

scores for the institutionalised population was slightly smaller than for both the U.S. and N.Z. norm studies.

At the end of Term II, readministration of the scale to all girls resulted in a mean control group score of 40 (n = 20) and a mean experimental group score of 42 (n = 5). This difference is too small to be of any importance.

At the completion of the third term, when the scores of the control and experimental groups were compared, a difference of 9 mean points was observed in scores: the mean self concept score for the control group was 43, and the mean score of the girls from the OE class was 35. However, as may be observed in Table 7 (ii), the number of subjects in the sample was small: the experimental and control groups totalled six and fourteen respectively. This size of the sample, and the large standard deviation suggest that this difference is not important, and moreover, unlikely to be negatively related to participation in the OE programme.

As mentioned previously, administration and scoring of the scale in an institutionalised population was not as straight forward as predicted by Piers and Harris. The administration problems outlined in the description of dependent variables, were principally due to the non-voluntary participation of subjects in the study, mitigating against using procedures suggested by the authors, to ensure a complete responding rate to items. Scoring of unanswered items was a circumstance not anticipated by Piers and Harris. The low responding rate

for the scale is evident in Table 7 (i). Only 42 percent, 29 percent, and 35 percent of subjects for Terms I, II, and III respectively, answered every item, as they were requested. Since no advice was offered to the contrary, unanswered items, items in which both YES and NO were obliterated, and items indicating indecision, ("half", "sometimes", etc) were treated as negative responses: that is, no mark was allocated. The justification for this procedure was that the subjects were generally quite willing to reply to statements on which they held a positive self concept, so it is unlikely that such items would be left unanswered. There was no pattern of responding in either group of girls, although some individual girls responded at a consistently high rate, regardless of self concept score.

As may be seen in Table 7 (i), there is much variation in self concept scores of individual subjects in both experimental and control groups. While Piers and Harris maintain that self concepts should remain relatively constant across time (test-retest reliability .77; Wing, 1966), it is evident from the sample population in the present study, that considerable fluctuation may be observed in the self concepts of maladjusted adolescents over the period of a year. It appears from their self reports, that a low self image is characteristic of a population of `at-risk' teenage females. Furthermore, the changes in any one girl's scores across a year in the study, illustrates the point that both improvement and deterioration in self concept is likely in girls with problems of social and emotional nature, regardless of the

school programme they are following within the institution.

On the basis of the girls' self reports on a standardised test, there was no support for the second hypothesis; that girls who participate in the OE programme would show higher self concepts than their regular class counterparts. On the basis of subjects' self reports, through the Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale (1969), there was no evidence to suggest that the OE programme was instrumental in improving participants' self concepts.

CLASSROOM BEHAVIOUR

Table 8

During the final two weeks of Term I, using procedures previously outlined, observations of subjects in their respective clasrooms took place. Data was gathered on a total of sixteen girls, fewer than for the other two dependent variables, due to unavailability of subjects in the classroom for the minimum length of time required to gather baseline data.

Results from these observations indicated that the mean length of time spent in `appropriate behaviour', in Term I, was 49 percent (Table 8). However, there was much variation within the scores of the subjects : the percentage of time in which the subjects behaved `appropriately' ranged from zero, to 92 percent.

At the end of the second term, the mean percentage of appropriate behaviour for the five girls in the

experimental group, those in the OE programme for that term, was 66 percent, whereas the control group's appropriate behaviour mean was 56 percent. The experimental group's scores were more homogenous with less variance in their scores.

Term III observations indicated an even greater disparity in mean scores: the three girls in the OE class performed appropriate classroom behaviour 82 percent of the time, compared with the control group's mean of 61 percent. Moreover, the standard deviation for the experimental group was only a third that of the control group.

The data analysis appears to present support for the third hypothesis, but three factors affect the internal validity of the data, and limit the extent to which the differential rate of appropriate behaviour can be attributed to OE.

Firstly, the small size of the Terms II and III experimental groups limits the validity of the group differences. Since only three and five subjects from respective terms OE classes were available for classroom observations, it is possible that the experimental group population observed was biased: those experimental subjects seldom available for periods long enough to provide a data base may have been those less likely to perform appropriate behaviour, since their absences from the classroom were frequently due to their misconduct, absconding, or general avoidance of `in-class' time. Since the OE class had only two `in-class' days per week, this

was the only time in which the class could be observed. Consequently, the chances of encountering a subject frequently absent were more difficult if she was an OE class member, than if she was a member of one of the regular classes, which could be observed for some part of every school day. As a result, the subjects readily available within the OE class, and on whom data was subsequently gathered, may have been more likely to work appropriately in the classroom, regardless of any programme they were exposed to.

Secondly, a physical factor of the classroom situation at the centre may have affected the differential level of appropriate behaviour between groups: the classroom occupied by the OE class was a `pre-fab', separated from the main block of classrooms. This isolation resulted in few interruptions from illicit visitors from other classes, a frequent occurrence observed in other classrooms. It was evident that such interruptions often prevented dedication to work by subjects, and instead encouraged inappropriate behaviour.

Thirdly, the OE teacher preferred to run his class on a more disciplined basis than was evident in other teachers' classes. He was seldom absent from the classroom, and whereas the other classes seemed to operate on a `laissez-faire' policy, intervention by the teacher occurring only when necessary, the rules in the OE class were more rigidly inforced: girls were to remain in their seats, work on their own without discussing their work with others, and frequent minimum work goals were set. The

latter was related to the nature of the OE-based class, in that a contingency plan was laid down on occasions: if a predetermined amount of work was not achieved within a certain time, the privilege of a particular OE activity, or other unrelated activity, would be withdrawn; skating in the first instance, and shopping with social worker in the second. The resultant appropriate behaviour could not be attributed to the effects of the OE programme, but to a basic contingency system based on rewards and removal of privilege. It seems likely therefore, that if a subject from the control group had been present in the classroom of the OE programme, without actually participating in the latter, her level of appropriate behaviour would have resembled that of the rest of the experimental group class. This point regarding the different classroom management style of the OE teacher raises an issue concerning the internal validity of the classroom observation variables. The observer's decision on the `appropriateness' of a girls' behaviour was based on the expectations and limits of tolerance of the teacher of that particular girl, and the circumstances within the classroom at that time. While the non-disruptive reading of non-school material may have been tolerated by one teacher in a particular situation, another teacher may not have considered the same behaviour acceptable, and requested the girl to do her school work. However, the observer is likely to have recorded the two similar behaviours in different ways: in the former situation as appropriate behaviour, and in the latter as inappropriate. Therefore, the validity of comparing the percentage of appropriate or inappropriate behaviour of subjects' in different teachers' classrooms is

questionable.

Consequently, on the basis of observational evidence, there is some support for the third hypothesis; that the subjects in the OE class would perform more appropriately in the classroom than their regular class counterparts. However as indicated, the reasons for this difference are unlikely to be attributable to the OE programme per se.

A final point relates to the validity of the results, concerning the selection of girls included in the study. The study failed to identify and follow the progress of every girl participating in the programme over Terms II and III in 1983. Circumstances within the institution, as previously described, mitigated against the inclusion in the study of every girl assigned to the OE programme during the year. Only those girls who were identified by staff as potential OE candidates at the end of Terms I and II, could be pretested to ascertain baseline behaviours and attitudes. Girls who entered the class at other points during the term were generally those recently admitted to the centre, and had not therefore been available for pretesting at the end of the previous term. The experimental groups over the two terms were in effect, sub-sets of the respective terms OE classes, selected circumstantially and subsequently, it may be asserted, were not representative of all the girls who went through the course in 1983.

SUMMARY

It is evident from the foregoing discussion that results of the experimental study described thus far, do not lend conclusive support to any of the three hypotheses. The OE programme was not instrumental in raising self concepts of participants, as measured by the Piers and Harris Scale; nor was it effective in improving the social adjustment of girls, according to the observations of the girls' respective teachers and social workers, through the B.S.A.G. The OE subjects' higher level of appropriate behaviour in the classroom was probably more an effect of classroom practices rather than actually participating in the programme of OE activities. It is evident however, that problems surrounding the dependent variables seriously limit the internal validity of the study.

CHAPTER IV

GENERAL DISCUSSION

`THE PROGRAMME' 1983

Problems of internal validity in relation to the measurement and interpretation of the dependent variables clearly contributed to the study's inconclusive results. However, qualitative data, the result of research by a participant observer over the duration of the programme further suggests that the independent variable, the Outdoor Education programme, also poses problems of internal validity. Based on a diary record of observations and interviews with both girls and staff, this data illuminates the programme's actual operation, and in doing so, suggests that even if the dependent variables had been internally valid, significant changes in the behaviour of the OE subjects would have been unlikely, given the prevailing conditions of the 1983 course. In other words, in addition to the problems regarding the dependent variables, the validity of the study is further seriously questioned because of the difficulties in implementing the independent variable. A closer examination will now be made of the independent variable, the Outdoor Education programme.

The basic premise on which the current study was developed was, that the structure and activities of a programme based on OE principles, which had developed over the period of two years at the centre (1981 - 1982) would remain the same, despite the programme being under the direction of a different teacher. However, when one

compares the total number of activities pursued and the visits made by the OE class in 1983, with those of the 1981 inaugural year's course, differences are immediately apparent. It is evident that the 1983 OE course operated in a manner somewhat different from a similarly labelled course previously operating. Consequently, the fact that no significant change in OE participants was observed, is as previously expressed, not unexpected.

It is possible to identify factors in the 1983 OE course, which may have affected its potential to produce any significant change in participants' behaviour. A categorised list of the activities, trips and visits which constituted the OE programme in its first year of operation can be observed in Table 9. The categories into which the programme constituents have been divided are a means of identifying the proportion of different activity types on the course. Using these categories, it is possible to ascertain the intensity of actual OE, in any one week of the programme. Furthermore, such categorisation enables a comparison to be made between the 1981 programme, the 1983 programme with the experiences of the girls not in the OE programme in 1983; that is, those girls involved in the regular school programme (Figure 2).

This comparison of the respective years' programmes is based on four criteria: the diversity or range of the activities which occurred; their frequency or intensity; the extent to which the activities were exclusive to those girls in the OE class; and the existence of the challenge element in activities.

It should be noted that while all the activities itemised in Table 9 were undertaken several times during 1981, and provided the basis of the OE course, the list of visits contains trips which occurred only once during the year, as well as those occuring each term. The success of the initial visit, the season, and the dynamics of the group, determined which visits were made in any one term. Similarly, Table 10, the categorised list of OE activities in 1983, describes those undertaken on a weekly basis, those occurring on a term basis, as well as those activities or trips which appeared only once in the year's programme.

Even a cursory glance at Tables 9 and 10 makes apparent the differences in the diversity and intensity of the components of OE in 1981 and 1983. It evident from Figure 2, that the programme which operated last year, did not contain the range of activities and trips reported from the 1981 programme. While in some categories almost 60 percent of the 1981 activities did occur in the 1983 programme (e.g. the `Sport' category), other categories contained only 20 percent of the activities which occurred in 1981 (e.g. the `Physical Challenge' category). Visits or events of the socio-experiential-cultural nature, while occurring on an `almost-weekly' basis at the beginning of Term II, were virtually non-existent by the third term.

A further factor differentiating OE as a unique series of experiences in 1981, was its apparent exclusiveness, as previously indicated. It was a programme for a particular group of girls each term, and inclusion of non-OE girls on

outings was not considered conducive to development of group dynamics, and was therefore discouraged by the teacher. In contrast, in 1983, girls from other classes frequently accompanied the OE class on outings and camps. Figure 2 indicates that many of the activities in the 1983 OE programme were not exclusive to the girls in the OE class; many were available to girls who were in the regular school proramme, during both in-school and out-of-school hours.

Of the activities which occurred on a weekly basis, two of them, swimming and jogging were part of the regular school P.E. curriculum, and therefore could not be considered as an exclusive component of OE. Furthermore, roller skating and horse riding, two other activities which appeared regularly on the week's timetable, were seldom exclusive to the girls in the OE class for two reasons. Firstly, girls from other classes frequently accompanied the latter on their trips to the skating rink and riding school, and secondly, both activities were often selected by residential staff as activities for evening and weekend outings. In contrast activities and trips in the 1981 programme were exclusively for those girls in the OE class: the only occasion on which a girl from another class would accompany the OE class away on a trip or camp, was if she was soon to be placed in the class on a permanant basis. Similarly, in 1981, horse riding and skating were seldom a part of the residential houses' timetables. It would seem that their inclusion in house programmes during 1983, was motivated by their apparent success and popularity in the inaugural OE programme.

There is no doubt that many of the activities in the "S" category (Table 9) of the 1981 OE programme were similarly available to all girls, but as indicated earlier, there was a conscious attempt to maintain an exclusive programme. The weekly inclusion of one physically challenging activity, abseiling, and often another "P" activity as well, coupled with the regularity of socio-experiential-cultural visits, ensured that the OE class was indeed at that time, exposed to an experience which was different from that of other girls in regular classes. Usually, two such visits were on the planned agenda for each week. While an advanced reservation or inquiry was required before some visits, (e.g.the Police Station) or sporting events, many places of social or cultural interest, such as the museum, had considerable potential in maintaining flexibility in the weekly timetable. Since no bookings were required, they were a viable alternative when wet weather mitigated against participation in a timetabled outside activity.

In the form in which they occurred in 1983, neither of the remaining two weekly activities could be categorised as physically challenging activities, to the extent of effecting a psychological change. Work on individual garden plots was introduced into the Term III programme principally as an outdoor economic venture, rather than with the intention that it be a particularly strenuous physical exercise. While weight training per se, is a physically challenging activity, this impression was not apparent in its implemented form in the programme. The girls were primarily motivated to participate in the weight

training routines established by the teacher, through the use of an extrinsic reward, rather than by an intrinsic desire to improve their abilities.

An additional point regarding the comparative weekly timetables of the OE programme in 1981 and 1983 concerns flexibility and "planned" spontaneity (Layman, 1972). This may seem like a contradiction in terms, but it illustrates aptly the nature of the inaugural year of the programme, and its coordinator/teacher. Since the girls in the OE programme spent a large proportion of their school week off the campus, and in the public eye, it was appropriate that they wear mufti clothes, thus reducing the pervasive institutional image. Consequently, the girls arrived at school in mufti, mentally prepared for `Outdoor Education'. To some degree this seemed to remove the occurrence of behaviour defined by Stott et al (1974), as a hostility/anxiety reaction (B.S.A.G.). Typically when girls were confronted with an unfamiliar situation, such as a change in agenda, the usual reaction from girls was a comment like: "Ew, yuck..do we have to?".

In 1981, the OE teacher was not reticent in advantageously using this situation. Even if institution circumstances or weather conditions prevented operation of a timetabled event, his basis of "planned" spontaneity ensured that the time was utilised profitably in OE. Seldom did he resort to classroom activities, when the girls arrived at school in mufti, expecting to go out.

However, the same cannot be said of 1983, even though

the mufti policy remained in force. Inclement weather, and circumstantial disruptions within the centre frequently resulted in "OE days" (Monday, Wednesday, Friday) being spent inside the classroom, or on campus involving activities not specifically OE-oriented.

It is apparent therefore, that the weekly timetable for the OE class in 1983 bore little resemblence to its 1981 counterpart. Not only was the programme less intensive in terms of "OE" activities, but it did not really exist as a differentiated series of experiences, exclusive to one class of girls. It may be concluded that the imperative components of any OE programme (Kelly, 1981) were apparently not regularly present.

However, it would appear from Tables 9 and 10, and Figure 2, that one imperative of OE, the camps, were a unique aspect of the programme because they occurred with uniform frequency in 1981 and 1983. It is necessary therefore to clarify the frequency and function of the camps in the respective years' OE programmes. While their actual occurrence two or three times a term may have given this impression, the following analysis of what constituted the 1983 camps gives an indication of how their function differed from those which occurred in 1981.

Table 9

1981 Outdoor Education Programme

[P] = Physically challenging activities
[L] = Leisure activities not considered `sports'
[S] = Traditional Sport/P.E. activities
[V] = Visits/Trips of socio-experiential-cultural nature
[C] = Camps

[S]	Swimming.....2	[V] Yaldhurst Transport Museum
	Diving.....3	Ferrymead Historic Trust
	Jogging.....1	McDougall Art Gallery
	Squash.....2	Okains Bay Museum
	Raquet Ball.....3	Christchurch Museum
	Basketball.....3	
	Softball.....3	Interschool Swimming Sports
	Circuit Training 2	Interschool Athletic Sports
		Diving Championships
[L]	Ice skating.....3	Rugby game
	Roller skating...3	
	Fishing.....3	Christchurch Teachers' College
	Rifle shooting...3	Canterbury University
	Trailbike riding.3	Van Asch College
	Horse riding.....1	Lincoln College
	Eeling.....3	
	Minigolf.....3	Burnham Military Base
	Jet boating.....2	Operation Deep Freeze
	Wind surfing.....2	Pitcaithly House
	Skiing.....2	Wigram Air Base
		Bread Factory
[P]	Canoeing.....2	Law Courts
	Abseiling.....1	
	Rockclimbing.....1	Trotting Stables
	Confidence Course2	Orchard
	Yachting.....3	Farms
	Tramping.....3	
	River crossing...3	Whitecliffs picnic
	Bridge crossing..3	Barbeque
		Hangi
[C]	Puhua.....4	Beach
	Fairlie.....3	Movies
	Lewis Pass.....4	
		Music appreciation
		N.Z. Army Band
Key		Rehua Marae
		Orana Wildlife Park
1 = weekly		Willowbank Reserve
2 = frequently		Spenser Park
3 = occasionally		
4 = isolated occurrence		Across-town bus travel
		Supermarket

Table 10

1983 Outdoor Education Programme

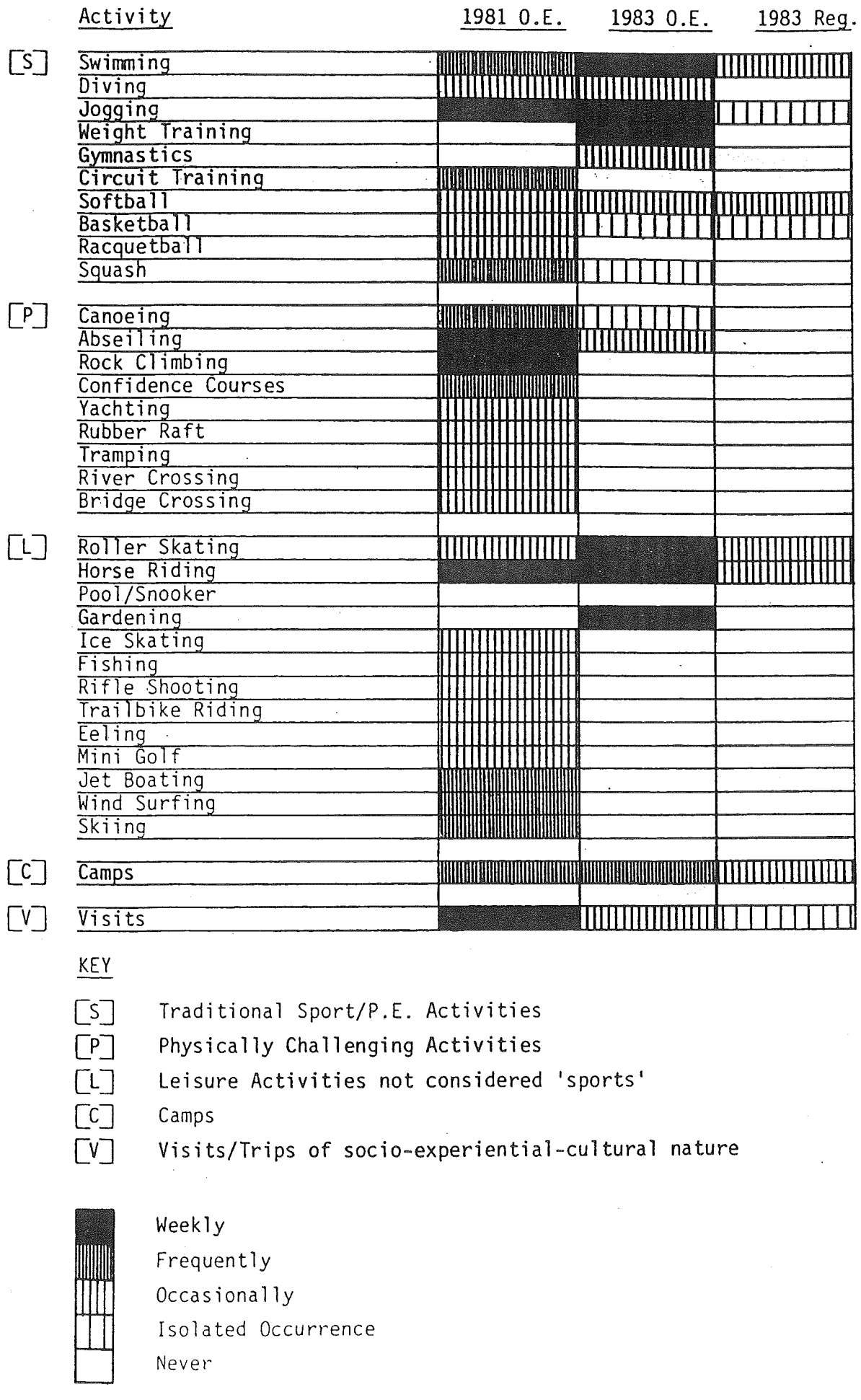
[P] = Physically challenging activities
[L] = Leisure activities not considered `sports'
[S] = Traditional Sport/P.E. activities
[V] = Visits/Trips of socio-experiential-cultural nature
[C] = Camps

[S]	Swimming.....1	[V]	Ferrymead Historic Trust
	Diving.....3		Christchurch Museum
	Jogging.....1		
	Weight Training..1		Burnham Military Camp
	Badminton.....3		Police Station
	Gymnastics.....3		
			Trotting Stables
[L]	Roller skating...1		Sale Yards
	Horse riding.....1		Farm
	Pool/snooker.....3		
	Gardening.....1		Orana Wildlife Park
			Aquarium and Zoo
[P]	Canoeing.....4		
	Abseiling.....3		Across-town bus travel
			Sumner
[C]	Nape Nape.....3		
	Puhua.....4		
	Lewis Pass.....3		
	Horse Trek.....4		

Key

1 = weekly
2 = frequently
3 = occasionally
4 = isolated occurrence

Figure 2. Activities for the Outdoor Education (O.E.) class in 1981 and 1983, and regular (Reg.) classes in 1983.



THE CAMPS

As indicated, camping is believed to be an integral part of OE, regardless of whether it takes the form of cabin living with communal facilities, or total isolation in the wilderness in tents or bivouacs. The primary factor which distinguishes camping from other valuable agents in OE has already been mentioned: presentation of an environment unfamiliar to camp participants necessitating the development of adaptive living and coping skills for survival.

However, this does not suggest that mere exposure to a foreign environment is sufficient to effect change, in terms of participants' behaviour and attitudes. Rather, a `successful' camp will more often be the most intensive and demanding of OE experiences, not only for participants, but also in terms of staff effort and organisation. Kelly (1981) makes this point: "In order to be comfortable, everyone must pull their weight, many hands make light work of a necessary task; organisation is all important when you have a lot to get through"; "A drawback of these camps is the strain upon staff. For five days you are in constant contact with the girls. Chores must be done, activities organised, and meals prepared" (p.5).

These descriptive experiences of the 1981 OE teacher illustrate the necessity for organisation and structure on camps: seldom does a camp operate smoothly without a great deal of effort on the part of staff, organising

participants in both work and play activities. Furthermore, as indicated in the 1981 report .."you obviously wish to make the most of the time you have with the girls, talk to them, counsel them where you feel it necessary, chastise when attitude and behaviour warrant it, and teach them because that is your primary function". (Kelly, 1981; p.6)

On this basis, examination will now be made of the five camps which were incorporated into the OE programme over Terms II and III in 1983. For comparative purposes, most attention is directed at two of the Term II camps: a three-day camp to Nape Nape scenic reserve, and a five-day camp to Lewis Pass. For reasons of camp data availability, and comparative purposes, these two particular camps are identified, since they serve to illustate the apparent failure and success respectively, of one term's camps.

In her capacity as participant observer, the writer attended the first camp, a three-day affair in mid-winter at Nape Nape, an isolated scenic beach reserve. Despite the OE teacher having prepared her for a `less pressure, more casual camp...a sort of shaking-down period', the experiences of the observer during the three days bore little resemblence to camps typically identified as ones of OE value. The following diary of the events of the three days gives an initial indication of the intensity of the camp.

DAY I

The group of eight girls, and two staff members departed from the centre in the early afternoon after an hour or so of packing up the van with all the supplies and luggage. Having picked up some camping gear and collecting a fast-food lunch on the way, the group arrived at the reserve in the late afternoon. The girls established themselves in a disused shearing shed, and then proceeded to explore the location, collecting firewood while the staff pitched their tents, and prepared a light tea. The first evening was unstructured, and none of the girls chose to accompany the staff alongside the campfire. Their preference was in smoking their cigarettes and talking amongst themselves in their novel sleeping quarters, remaining predominantly out of the sight and hearing of the staff.

DAY II

The girls arose early, despite the teacher's suggestion that they sleep in. After breakfast, the girls were free to do as they chose, with the exception of two girls who accompanied the teacher in the van to gather logs and branches, and two girls who prepared the food for a hangi. After stacking the necessary logs, branches and stones over the fireplace and lighting the hangi fire, the teacher directed the other staff member and the observer, to take the girls on a one to two hour hike, while he attended to the hangi. Not all the girls were enthusiastic about going on the hike, which involved walking part of the reserve, around a cliff face, and over hills down to a bay where a seal colony was performing. However, all but one of the group agreed to accompany the staff, with varying degrees of willingness. On their return to the camp site, a couple of girls spontaneously organised a game of softball which continued until night fell. After some delay, the hangi was raised, but only about half of the group indicated any interest in eating such a meal: the remainder ate bread, meat and biscuits from the supply trailer, the contents of which were freely available. In the darkened hours of the evening, the teacher organised a game of spotlight: a kind of `cops and robbers' affair, using a torch, and the campfire as home base. In contrast with the night before, the girls settled for the night without much ado, after a physically and emotionally exhausting themselves in spotlight.

DAY III

The morning was spent packing up, not before considerable effort was expended in pushing the van to a dry spot, rain during the night before having stranded it at the foot of a greasy slope. Resistance to clearing the campsite varied from unenthusiasm, to total refusal, making the operation a somewhat tedious experience, exacerbated by the steady rain which fell. The site was finally vacated around mid-day, and the trip back to town was long, due to several service stops because of a problematic trailer tyre. On return to the centre, the van was unloaded, and the girls dispersed to their respective houses.

It is evident from the diary of events, that there was a predominance of unstructured time over the three day period. While the teacher intended this camp to be a fairly casual affair, the girls' response indicated boredom, rather than relaxation on their part. There are several possible reasons for this. Firstly, it was apparent that the Nape Nape reserve site was more suited to a camp during the summer season, than one in mid-winter. The same campsite was used during the warmer months of the first term, presenting a range of water activities, swimming, diving and surfing, none of which were desirable during the winter season. Further to this, it appears that one of the staff members accompanying the group on the corresponding Term I camp took a dominant role in organising activities over the three days. With the cooperation of a local fisherman, the girls experienced boat fishing and crayfish pot collection, the catch being later cooked in a Maori hangi. It is relevant to identify the racial tradition underlying the cooking method, since the staff member concerned was Maori. He generated an intense amount of admiration from the girls, which not only helped to increase their interest in the Maori culture, but created enthusiasm for everyday activities. The girls appeared to respond to him more readily than to many other staff members.

While the OE teacher did not deny this staff member's charismatic influence on the campers, it would seem that he failed to acknowledge that the success of the camp was almost exclusively due to the latter's efforts and presence. Having had a significant proportion of the first

term camp organised for him, it appears that the OE teacher did not really plan in any depth, the Term II camp. Indeed, if he had, it is likely that the suitability of Nape Nape as a winter camp site would have been brought under review.

It was not surprising therefore, that the girls on the camp appeared bored, not generally proficient at constructively occupying the great amount of free time offered them. An atmosphere of inertia having developed, motivation to carry out everyday chores was at a low ebb. Since no formal roster had been drawn up, duties like cooking and dishes were delegated on a spontaneous basis; that is, as a chore presented itself, a couple of girls were nominated by the teacher to do the task. With no systematic roster, resistance to duties was almost automatic, since the girls had no time to `prepare' themselves mentally for their chores; if a written roster had been available, even before departing the centre, the girls could have clearly anticipated when/what their respective duties were, thereby allowing them time to `adjust' to the idea. While there still may have been some complaints at the initial viewing of the roster, it is likely that once at the camp site, the girls would have accepted the system, and carried out their respective duties as a matter of course. Further, had the middle day in particular, been structured so that the girls were seldom left to their own devices, it is unlikely that the execution of such chores would have been a problem, in an atmosphere of high-spirited activity.

However, in the bored atmosphere which predominated, motivation to participate in even a mildly demanding one to two hour hike was not readily apparent: the apathy had already set in. Even the hangi was regarded unenthusiastically by most of the girls. By contrast, the game of spotlight on the last night, was probably the most therapeutic event of the three days. Both staff and girls were actively involved in the high-spirited game, in a manner not elsewhere evident.

Given the prevailing mood of the previous two days, the task of packing up and clearing the camp site was, not unexpectedly, an unnecessarily tiresome operation, particularly as far as the staff were concerned. No order or systematic job allocation occurred, with the result that staff requests for help were seldom received in a cordial manner.

It was apparent that the writer was not alone in her disillusionment about the Nape Nape camp: many of the girls expressed a desire to return to the centre on a number of occasions. While the weather may have contributed to this, their sentiments were more frequently the result of boredom, complaining that there was nothing to do. One girl refused to accompany the class on the next camp, for this reason ("I'm sick of .... and his disorganised camps:there's nothing to do").

One point must be made here, concerning the dynamics of the group of girls at the Term II Nape Nape camp: according to the teacher, they were not a highly motivated

group, due primarily to the detrimental influence of two girls from one particular residential house. The teacher felt that the second camp was more successful due to the absence of these two girls, and the subsequent inclusion of two other girls whose influence was more positive. It cannot be denied that on the Nape Nape camp, the two girls concerned did not encourage good staff-girl relations, nor did they contribute to the development of a self-motivated group. However, it appears unlikely that any combination of girls would have made a success of the camp, under the circumstances which existed.

In contrast, the second camp in Term II, a five-day operation at Lewis Pass, serves as an apparent success story. While the writer did not have first-hand experience of the camp, details of the itinerary were provided, and comment by both staff and girls was freely available. On their return, each of the seven girls completed the questionaire "WHAT DID YOU THINK OF THE CAMP?" (Appendix B; p.152), which gave some indication of the general camp atmosphere.

In response to the first question on the questionaire sheet, regarding their feelings about the activities, five out of seven girls responded "GREAT", the other two responding "O.K." This would seem to reflect the immediate difference which was apparent in the Lewis Pass camp, the fact that the hours in each day were almost entirely organised. Excursions to places of interest on the West Coast, horse trekking, bushtramping, and river-crossing occupied the days, and the evenings, apart from the night

of initial arrival at the cabins, were devoted to activities conducive to the development of a cohesive group, with hot pool soaks, and staff-girls socialising within the cabins.

Secondly, it is evident that the girls were not given a great amount of free time: instead, the staff were in constant close contact with them, a situation to which all the girls reponded to positively, according to the second question "How did you get on with the staff?". One girl even identified "the girls and staff", as the one thing which went really well on the camp (Question 5).

Moreover, responses to Question 6, "Did anything go really badly on the camp?", indicate that the only incident which caused them any concern was a seance, which occurred on their one free evening, when they were left to their own devices.

Finally, a more rigid roster and discipline system operated on the Lewis Pass camp, so that, in the teacher's own words, clearing up the cabins at the end of the camp, was a "pleasant and cooperative experience". The fifteen minute wood-chopping stints, to which girls were subjected as a consequence of inappropriate language or behaviour, seemed to have been accepted in a mature manner, since it was the girls themselves who informed the writer of its existence.

There is no doubt that the girls who went on the Lewis Pass camp were a more congenial group than on the first

camp, even though five of the seven girls went on both camps. As indicated already, the difference may have been due to the replacement of two particular girls, but given the quite different circumstances of the two camps as illustrated, it seems that the amalgam of girls on any one camp, cannot be identified as the sole factor determining its apparent success or failure.

The combination of a lack of organised activities, too much free time, and no systematic rostering of everyday duties were, in the experience of the writer, the factors responsible for the Nape Nape camp's failure, in comparison with the Lewis Pass camp later that term. The fact that the Nape Nape camp was not extensively planned would appear to be a result of the apparent ease with which the corresponding Term I camp operated, due to the presence of an influential staff member; futhermore, the OE teacher's attitude towards the camp indicated that he believed that mere exposure to an unfamiliar environment constituted a therapeutic camping experience, and that the actual content of the camp itself was of secondary importance.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that many of the factors identified by the writer as ones contributing to the programme's `failure' to produce significant change in participants' behaviour and attitudes, reinforce previous writers' notions about Outdoor Education (Winterdyk, 1980; Luketina, 1981).

A physical activity programme used as a vehicle for behaviour and attitude change is based on the assumption that "When a child's body is involved in doing something, the head is quick to follow" (Fox et al, 1978; p.21). This suggests that priority in an OE-based programme should be the constant occupation of participants' time. Juveniles experiencing social and emotional adjustment problems are seldom motivated to occupy their own time in a manner which they find fulfilling; it appears that they respond better to a situation in which their time is structured for them.

This is not to advocate a disciplined timetable of activities, inflexible to change and spontaneity, but rather create a programme in which participants are seldom faced with situations in which they are free to do as they choose. Since as Chainey (1973) suggests, many offenders have `deviated' from law abidance during their leisure time, it seems that their choice of leisure activities is neither socially desirable, nor conducive to a stable emotional health.

The components of the 1983 OE programme, presented in Table 10, along with description of the course operation, indicate that OE activities did not occupy the majority of participants' time. While the girls in the OE class may have seldom been left to their own devices entirely, except on the camps, it is evident that the core activities which constituted the 1983 programme, were not of a physically challenging nature.

Layman (1972) identifies `challenge' as the primary independent variable acting in recreation and sport programmes. If an adolescent finds her usual activities as exciting as those within an organised programme, it is unlikely that she will become enthusiastically involved in it.

As has been outlined in detail, the 1983 programme at the centre did not contain this predominant element of challenge. Neither was it particularly regarded by girls as a novel, exciting alternative to the usual school programme, since few of its activities were totally exclusive to the OE programme: most of what was available in the OE class curriculum, could be experienced at some stage by any girl at the centre. Furthermore, the dynamics of a cohesive group of OE participants did not develop, as the OE class trips and activities frequently included girls from other classes.

It is not the intention of the writer to pass judgement on the success or failure of the programme, nor does she intend that her comments be regarded as the

exclusive factors of consideration in any review of OE at the centre. The comments made eminate from her experience as participant observer in 1983, and the concurrent quantitative data gathered on a small number of girls within a variety of school programmes, including one labelled `Outdoor Education'.

The potential of OE to modify behaviour and attitudes in adolescents is evident, but rarely it seems, will this modification occur in a programme operating under the conditions which prevailed in 1983. It is readily acknowledged that an OE programme is more than a series of outdoor experiences which challenge participants physically and mentally. What is not so apparent however, are the factors within a programme which are instrumental to behaviour and attitude change.

"Outdoor Education is like electricity...it works but we are not sure why" (Kelly, 1974; p.10).

On the basis of her research into a programme labelled `Outdoor Education', the writer has reached some conclusions as to why OE-based programmes have been identified as one of the most effective therapeutic tools for `at-risk' or delinquent adolescents. The properties of the 1981 OE programme at the residential centre which distinguished it from its 1983 counterpart have been outlined in detail. It seems possible that if the characteristics of the 1981 `programme' of OE activities were applied to other activities (e.g. dancing, music, or craft work) similar beneficial outcomes could accrue. The

high frequency and intensity of activities, the unfamiliar challenging situations and the group exclusiveness, all contributed to a `successful' programme in which OE may have been merely the vehicle to which these elements were applied.

Consequently, the apparent effectiveness of OE as a rehabilitative tool may not be a direct result of the outdoor activities per se, but the manner in which they are utilised within a specifically designed programme.

The implications of the writer's conclusions for the 1983 OE programme are clear. While there may be benefits in exposing individuals to isolated outdoor education experiences, it seems that this is not making maximum use of the potential of OE. Ideally it should be incorporated into a course of high intensity, participation in which is exclusive to one group of individuals at a time, and designed to challenge participants by exposing them to unfamiliar circumstances, in which their existing skills, be they social, physical or academic, are inappropriate.

EPILOGUE

REHABILITATION OR CUSTODY: SEEING THE WOOD FOR THE TREES?

"This place is not for me
`Can't you see'
My impatient crys for help
That no-one seems to hear
It seems as though they're all against me
But I am wise
I'm not dumb
I'll hack it here
Till the end does come"

- Anon

The society of the 1980s is confronted with the perpetual problem of how to deal most effectively with the growing number of youth coming to the attention of social welfare agencies, the police and the law courts. While many theories have been generated as to the causes of their anti-social or offending behaviour, the fact remains that this deviant group exists, and the rest of society has a responsibility to it. Typically, the problem is `solved' by institutionalising the deviant party. The belief inherent in such treatment is that it is an effective cure for anti-social behaviour, thereby preventing the development of the delinquent identity, whose destiny otherwise is the prison system.

The study described thus far, gives an account of the

effects of a programme labelled `Outdoor Education', on a group of institutionalised adolescent females. In her capacity as researcher and participant observer, the focus of the writer's interest was the OE programme; however, over the duration of the year, this interest expanded beyond the programme, as broader issues of the operation of such an institution presented themselves. Not only did many issues emerge concerning the difficulty of implementing any type of programme at the residential centre, but it became evident to the writer, that the dynamics of the institution frequently mitigated against it having any significant positive impact on its residents. In the writer's view, the problems `solved' by removing a girl from her home, may often be replaced by a series of other problems when institutionalisation occurs. As a consequence, on her discharge from the institution, not only is she still likely to hold those anti-social attitudes which initially led to her placement, but she may in addition exhibit some anti-social behaviours not evident at the time of her admission.

The following discussion will attempt to verify these assertions by referring to field notes of observations and documents relating to resident and staff behaviour and comment, collected during the frequent contact with the centre over the period of a year.

The issues to be addressed then are: what is the expressed function of residential care for juveniles?; what evidence is there that the institutional experience facilitates that function?; and is there sufficient

homogeneity among the existing institutionalised population to assume that one treatment method, residential care, is always appropriate?

A brief analysis of the roles of custody and rehabilitation as objectives of residential care will be followed by the presentation of two case studies. To maintain privacy, these are not actual histories, but have been constructed from real events and represent typical cases. It will then be possible to assess whether the observed experience of residential care provides evidence that the centre's expressed function, rehabilitation, is a realistic aim. Furthermore, it will enable an identification of those factors which, it will be argued, mitigate against the rehabilitation function.

The Role of Residential Care

Is the institution a means of rehabilitating `at-risk' juveniles, preventing them from becoming official `delinquents', or is it merely performing a custodial function, wherein the primary needs of food, shelter and clothing are provided, and individuals are `protected' from their former hostile environments? It may appear that the two functions are not in conflict: the assertion may be made that rehabilitation is achieved by providing these basic needs for individuals, the deprivation of which has resulted in their deviant behaviour. Ultimately however, rehabilitation implies the successful reintegration of the individual into the community. Custodial care can not actively facilitate reintegration, as it serves to maintain

the isolation of the individual from the society from which she has become alienated, any benefit being merely fortuitously derived from a period of asylum.

What then, does the institution under current discussion, see as its purpose? In a written outline of the residential care practices at the centre, compiled by the Social Work, Teaching, Domestic and General Services staff, two main functions were identified: 1) It provides short-term care and assessment for girls whose community living situations have broken down, who are offending, or who are living a lifestyle detrimental to their overall development. Such girls are admitted to the centre for an assessement of their social, emotional, and educational needs for a period of time, varying from a few days to several months. 2) It provides the facility for girls whose difficulties are such that an extended period of residential care of up to two years away from their own homes is considered necessary.

The centre's treatment approach is based on the conviction that a residential environment provides the shelter and security where a girl's emotional and social well-being will be enhanced, as she gains greater control over her actions, her feelings, and the decision making processes which influence her life.

"Basking in warm sunshine on a spring-like day, the _____ residential school for girls is a peaceful protective retreat". (The Press, Christchurch, August 20, 1983, p.17)

The image which the institution attempts to create for the public in the introduction to this media feature, and the specific objectives listed in the staff outline, indicate that the centre operates under the conception that the provision of custodial care, does to some extent imply rehabilitation. The specific objectives of the institution, and the procedures by which it intends to achieve these aims, further extend an understanding of their treatment approach.

In the provision of physical, social and emotional care and education within the `security of an environment setting', the institution maintains that the well-being of each girl will be promoted, her emotional difficulties and conduct disorders will be ameliorated, and her capacity to relate effectively 5n the community will be improved. Inherent in the staff objectives is the belief that within the confines of a residential setting, exists the potential to enhance each girl's quality of life by teaching her to maximise her educational and vocational chances. In its proposals for implementing these objectives, the institution makes only brief mention of factors extrinsic to its facility: ..."To maintain and improve a girl's contact with her family and significant others". In addition, there is a clear expression that the institution regards itself quite separately from those which have a punitive function, such as the former `borstals' or reformatories: ..."a residential school, similar to many boarding schools in the community, but staffed by Residential Social Workers, and Teachers who have qualifications and aptitudes in special education".

There is no doubt that the notion of asylum in relation to custody is seen as an important component of residential care, but clearly, rehabilitation is the major objective. The `non-reform' function of the institution would also seem to imply that this type of setting is not appropriate for girls who are responsible for more serious anti-social acts involving law infringement.

Case Histories

Natalie

Natalie, aged 14 years, was admitted to the residential centre for an indefinite period, after unsuccessful attempts by two families to foster her. She had a family background of neglect and incest, and first came to the attention of the Social Welfare Department after her teacher reported disruptive classroom behaviour and frequent truancy. She had appeared in the Childrens' Court on a charge relating to the conversion of a car, following an earlier court appearance for petty theft.

Natalie did not have much trust in anyone, and entered the centre with a cynical attitude, often suspicious of anyone who appeared willing to help her. As a result, Natalie's Residential Social Worker had considerable ~~in~~ difficulty establishing a relationship with her. Even once a good rapport and a reasonable degree of trust had been developed, in the Social Worker's view, these sentiments were not mutual. However, Natalie was perceptive in recognising the material benfits of `getting on' with one's Case Worker, and gave the impression that she could be

trusted. In this way, requests for new clothes were usually granted; shopping expeditions to purchase them frequently took place during school hours, while Natalie's Social Worker was on duty. Although her teacher disliked such arrangements, they pleased Natalie, as it meant time out of the classroom, away from the school work she neither enjoyed, nor excelled in. However, she had learned that by displaying violent outbursts, or causing a major disruption within the classroom, she could get herself removed to the secure unit. Such periods of `time out' enabled her to avoid difficult school work situations; she was still expected to pursue her lessons while in secure, but she did not have to contend with the presence of her teacher, or with girls whom she disliked.

Within both the residential unit and school, Natalie readily identified situations in which good behaviour would be materially rewarded by staff, often in the form of chocolate or an icecream. During her time at the centre, Natalie maintained some contact with her family, but relations with them were strained, and meetings organised by her Social Worker seemed of little benefit to either party. Although she was frequently involved in physical and verbal battles with other girls, Natalie identified with her institutionalised peers in a way that she could not with others. While on group trips off the campus, she felt conspicuous, thinking that everyone `outside' knew the group's origins. On such occasions, she preferred to maintain isolation from the public, particularly from other school groups. By reacting with anti-social comments and behaviour, Natalie felt secure as part of her group.

Natalie absconded a number of times during her eighteen month stay at the centre. The first incident was within weeks of her admission, when she accompanied three other girls, primarily as an act of bravado. This absconding was relatively uneventful, and her voluntary return to the centre resulted in isolation in the secure unit for a week. On a later occasion however, the consequences were more severe, as she was required to appear in court on a charge relating to offensive behaviour whilst in the company of a number of motor-cycle gang members. Natalie felt some sense of being `needed' by these men, and associated with them on many subsequent occasions.

Once she turned fifteen, Natalie attempted a period of work experience gardening at a local park. She enjoyed the work at first, but soon got bored of the routine. She often left the location early, and returned to the centre via the dairy to slip a stolen bar of chocolate into her pocket, while she bought some cigarettes.

After eighteen months, Natalie was discharged, and retuned to her home district to board with her aunt, and commenced a factory job arranged by her Social Worker. In terms of her behaviour, Natalie was relatively unchanged from the time of her admission, as she still associated only with youth who were in similar circumstances to herself. However, during her period of confinement at the centre, she had learned to make maximum personal use of available resources, at the expense of the state system.

Tricia

Tricia, aged 13 years, entered the centre for a short-term period of assessment, after truancy reports from her teacher, and indications of a lack of parental care and control. She was a pawn in her parents' unhappy marriage, and did not know what constituted a close loving family. Her attitude to being placed in residential care was not one of total contentment, but was not as hardened as that of Natalie. Tricia was admitted to the home within a week of Natalie, and while the latter's ultimate destination was one of the long-term units, she had been assigned to the short-term unit for an initial period, along with Tricia. Similarly, the girls were juxtaposed in the assessment class at school.

Being accustomed to somewhat deprived living standards, Tricia enjoyed the comforts of the residential unit, with new clothes, a comfortable cubicle, and an abundance of food available at mealtimes. Moreover, no one seemed to object to the quantity or nutritional quality of the food she ate, and being allowed great amounts of icecream and other sweet foods, particularly at supper time, was to Tricia, an absolute luxury.

Tricia even found school a tolerable experience, quite different to the classroom hours she had rigourously avoided at her former school. If she chose not to work, and instead read a magazine, the teacher seldom disturbed her. Tricia realised that apart from completing a number of work sheets which assessed her educational and social

skills, it was possible to spend a fairly relaxed week in school. Meetings with her Case Social Worker, with whom she related well, were coordinated in school hours, as were trips to the residential nurse for any ailment. Extra-curricula activities were frequent, thus reducing further the hours actually spent in the classroom.

While she felt secure with her immediate circumstances, and found conditions at the centre congenial, Tricia was uncertain about her future. Within two weeks of her admission, she had absconded with Natalie and two other girls. She was apprehended, and returned to the centre emotionally and physically hurt from a number of abusive sexual experiences. Tricia would not previously have associated with the likes of the gang which harboured the foursome, but in the company of the other girls, she felt an infallible security, and the unpleasantness of her encounter was obscured with the passing weeks.

After an extended assessment period of ten weeks, Tricia was discharged into a `family home', her parents having relinquished custody of herfor an indefinite. period. As a result of her residence, Tricia identified less with her peers from other schools in the community, and more with Natalie and her associates, both within and outside of the centre. Consequently, she felt alienated from the girls at the high school which she attended from the family home, and in preference maintained contact with her acquaintances in care, those whose anti-social attitudes she shared.

From the preceding analysis of the role of residential care and the case histories, the first point of note is evident: the centre's non-reform view is seriously undermined when one of the case studies clearly illustrates the presence of a group of girls, conforming to the typical lay view of offender. This group is in constrast with Tricia and the group of girls which she represents considered to be in need of care and protection, having been offended against, rather than offending.

The placement of `offenders' in the institution appears to maintain its image as a place for `bad girls', in the minds of the public and the residents. Despite the previosly mentioned attempts through the media and the centre's documented description, to creat a `boarding school' image, the stigma of being a `____ girl' still exists. The institutionalised girl perceives herself as different, and alienated from her peers in other schools in the community. `Who wants to know us?', is not an uncommon comment. This inevitably interferes with efforts to promote positive contacts with the community, or to maintain ties with family and significant others, even though this is expressed as an aim. The second point then, is that regardless of whether such contacts are in fact maintained during a girls' stay, essentially she is isolated from the community in which her maladjustment was manifested in anti-social conduct and attitudes. By being admitted to an `institution', carries with it a stigma which means that communication with the outside world is effectively severed.

Finally, the case studies suggest that the demands of the centre with regard to living skills and school are quite removed from those of their peers in the mainstream. Hence, a period of institutional care would seem to be more likely to restrict their chances of reintegrating into the community on discharge.

The residential setting is a secure environment, which provides girls with all the requirements for a comfortable life, and the notion of asylum is clearly upheld. However, reponding to the girls' former deprivation with abundance, or even indulgence, does not constitute rehabilitation. After only a short period in care, girls soon recognise the immense material benefits of being either a temporary or a permanant protege of Social Welfare. The free availability of the primary requirements of food and clothes are two examples: the clothing allowance of girls would exceed that of most children living with their parents. As a result of the apparent ease with which new clothes can be obtained, belongings are frequently treated with complacency. Similarly, the undisciplined eating habits developed in some of the residential units may generate unwise and indiscriminant habits in the future. Often food seems to be synonymous with warmth and caring, and its restriction by staff is seen to be commensurate with punishment. Although, there are indications that staff believe that the girls must learn to exercise control over their own eating habits, the abundant supply of icecream and biscuits at suppertime seems contrary to this, and unlikely to represent an average home situation.
self-discipline.

Furthermore, food is the most prevalent reward in the reinforcement system at the centre. Seldom does a girl fail to respond to food as a reward for good behaviour: chocolate satisfies her immediate desire for approval. Occasionally, a more diverse reward, like a horse riding excusion can be earned. However, since a reinforcing event of this kind is not immediate, girls do not respond readily to it, and consequently, infrequently is it implemented by staff. Motivated primarily by extrinsic rewards, seldom is there evidence of girls performing socially desirable acts reinforced by an intrinsic personal satisfaction.

The school at the centre operates on a similar basis to many `special' schools in the community: the curriculum is tailored to the individual needs of girls, and when the latter are available and willing, this curriculum is followed. It would appear however, that a girl's schooling requirements are of secondary importance to the requirements of her Social Worker in the residential unit. The teachers are available between nine o'clock and three o'clock, during which time attempts are made to assess girls' educational needs, and subsequently respond to her deficits. The high degree of classroom avoidance by girls, at times legitimated by Social Worker requirements, frequently results in half-empty classrooms. Lack of continuity in school lessons being already inevitable, teachers may often opt for activities outside of the classroom.

On their subsequent return to outside schools, girls are faced with the reality of classrooms which constantly

require their presence, with no opportunity to opt out, as was legitimately possible within the institution. As in the residential units, the circumstances which prevail in the school environment, are not always reflective of the `world outside', and the expectations of girls developed while in care may conflict with reality. Conforming to discipline and laws, whether in the classroom, the home, or on the street, will inevitably cause personal displeasure at times to everyone. It seems however, that within the institution girls are often able to avoid tasks which they dislike, instead of having to confront and manage them.

In the experience of the writer, the effect the institution had on girls like Natalie and Tricia is not atypical. Both girls were discharged back into a society from which they had been protected, with no apparent evidence that they were better able to conform to its norms. The institution exists as a custodial agent, catering for the primary needs of girls, providing access to staff trained in therapeutic care. There is little doubt that the potential skills for rehabililitating `at-risk' adolescent females does exist within the residential and teaching staff. However, within the confines of an residential environment segregated from the rest of the community, the `deviant' identity is reinforced, as girls are alienated from their well-adjusted peers, and have contact only with those from their own sub-culture.

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APPENDIX A

Table 1 (i)

Subjects' Raw Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 2: The Child in School.

	Term I		Term II		Term III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Sally	1	0	2	3	-	-
Olivia	9	26	* 6	20	-	-
Beth	3	4	* 4	12	2	7
Cathy	-	-	4	17	* 6	0
Hilary	2	8	6	7	-	-
Lee	4	29	2	28	0	19
Penny	11	0	16	0	-	-
Andrea	-	-	3	1	5	7
Hattie	2	8	8	14	4	17
Katie	-	-	3	5	* 4	19
Carol	-	-	3	15	* 1	22
Kris	1	3	0	2	1	4
Rachel	1	7	4	19	0	3
Wendy	1	7	14	16	5	9
Ida	-	-	0	0	* 5	9
Shelley	4	0	8	7	-	-
Brenda	3	8	2	4	1	5
Theresa	3	6	6	10	0	1
Lizzy	13	6	* 3	10	3	5
Sonia	-	-	14	2	*22	4
Polly	9	5	5	1	-	-

* Denotes girls in OE class during that term

Table 1 (ii)

Changes in Subjects' Raw Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 2: The Child in School

	Term I - II		Term II - III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Sally	+1	+3	-	-
Olivia	* -3	-6	-	-
Beth	* +1	+8	-	-
Cathy	-	-	* +2	-17
Hilary	+4	-1	-	-
Lee	-2	-1	-2	-9
Penny	+5	0	-	-
Andrea	-	-	+2	+6
Hattie	+6	+6	-4	+3
Katie	-	-	* +1	+14
Carol	-	-	* -2	+7
Kris	-1	-1	+1	+2
Rachel	+3	+12	-4	-16
Wendy	+13	+11	-11	-7
Ida	-	-	* +5	+9
Shelley	+4	+7	-	-
Brenda	-1	-4	-1	+1
Theresa	+3	+4	-6	-9
Lizzy	*-10	+4	-	-
Sonia	-	-	* +8	+2
Polly	-4	-4	-	-

* Denotes girls in OE class during that term

N.B. -n = improvement in social adjustment
+n = deterioration in social adjustment

Table 2

Group Mean Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 2: The Child in School

	Term I		Term II		Term III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Control Group (I)		(n = 12)				
mean:	3.5	6.8	6.1	9.3	*	
S.D.:	3.1	7.4	4.7	8.2	*	
Control Group (II)				(n = 8)		
mean:	*		5.8	11.8	2.0	8.1
S.D.:	*		4.6	8.8	2.1	6.2
Expt. Group (I)		(n = 3)				
mean:	8.3	12.0	4.3	15.7	*	
S.D.:	4.1	9.9	1.2	4.3	*	
Expt. Group (II)				(n = 5)		
mean:	*		4.8	7.8	7.6	10.8
S.D.:	*		4.8	6.9	7.4	8.5

Table 3 (i)

Combined Pretest and Posttest Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 2: The Child in School

	Pretest		Posttest	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Control Groups		(n = 20)		
mean:	4.1	8.8	4.5	8.8?
S.D.:	3.6	8.3	4.3	7.4
Expt. Groups		(n = 8)		
mean:	6.1	9.4	6.4	12.0
S.D.:	4.9	8.4	6.1	7.4

Table 3 (ii)

Changes in Group Mean Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 2: The Child in School

	unract	ovract
Control Group	(n = 20)	
Mean Score Difference:	0.32	0.15
Standard Deviation:	5.00	6.81
Experimental Group	(n = 8)	
Mean Score Difference:	0.25	2.63
Standard Deviation:	5.09	9.23

N.B. - a negative mean indicates an overall improvement in social adjustment and a positive mean indicates an overall deterioration in social adjustment.

Table 4 (i)

Subjects' Raw Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 3: The Child in Residential Care.

	Term I		Term II		Term III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Sally	5	14	2	6	-	-
Olivia	7	7	* 5	16	-	-
Cathy	-	-	6	11	* 7	7
Lee	4	13	4	14	1	11
Hilda	9	34	-	-	-	-
Penny	4	2	5	1	-	-
Andrea	-	-	4	7	5	12
Hattie	5	22	2	8	1	12
Katie	-	-	9	13	* 4	10
Carol	-	-	7	22	* 3	21
Kris	7	6	5	6	4	8
Rachel	12	24	17	23	7	26
Wendy	8	6	1	3	7	13
Ida	-	-	1	6	* 8	5
Shelley	4	4	3	12	-	-
Brenda	4	3	5	15	7	8
Theresa	5	6	7	10	4	8
Lizzy	5	9	* 3	7	-	-
Sonia	-	-	7	8	* 4	13
Polly	2	5	7	5	-	-

* Denotes girls in OE class during that term

Table 4 (ii)

Changes in Subjects' Raw Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 3: The Child in Residential Care

	Term I - II		Term II - III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Sally	-3	-8	-	-
Olivia	* -2	+9	-	-
Cathy	-	-	* -1	-4
Lee	0	-1	-3	-3
Penny	+1	-1	-	-
Andrea	-	-	+1	+5
Hattie	-3	-14	-1	+4
Katie	-	-	* -5	-3
Carol	-	-	* -4	-1
Kris	-2	0	-1	+2
Rachel	+5	-1	-10	+3
Wendy	-7	-3	+6	+10
Ida	-	-	* +7	-1
Shelley	-1	+8	-	-
Brenda	+1	+12	+2	-7
Theresa	+2	+4	-3	-2
Lizzy	* -2	-2	-	-
Sonia	-	-	* -3	+5
Polly	+5	0	-	-

* Denotes girls in OE class during that term

N.B. -n = improvement in social adjustment
+n = deterioration in social adjustment

Table 5

Group Mean Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 3: The Child in Residential Care

	Term I		Term II		Term III	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Control Group (I)		(n = 11)				
mean:	5.5	5.5	5.3	9.4		*
S.D.:	2.6	7.3	4.2	6.0		*
Control Group (II)				(n = 8)		
mean:		*	5.6	10.8	4.5	12.3
S.D.:		*	4.6	6.0	2.3	5.5
Expt. Group (I)		(n = 2)				
mean:	6.0	8.0	4.0	11.5		*
S.D.:	1.0	1.0	1.0	4.5		*
Expt. Group(II)				(n = 5)		
mean:		*	6.0	12.0	5.2	11.2
S.D.:		*	2.7	5.5	2.9	5.6

Table 6 (i)

Combined Pretest and Posttest Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 3: The Child in Residential Care

	Pretest		Posttest	
	unract	ovract	unract	ovract
Control Groups		(n = 19)		
mean:	5.5	10.1	4.9	10.6
S.D.:	3.6	6.8	3.5	6.0
Expt. Groups		(n = 7)		
mean:	6.0	10.0	4.9	11.3
S.D.:	2.3	3.3	1.8	5.3

Table 6 (ii)

Changes in Group Mean Scores on the Bristol Social Adjustment Guide No. 3: The Child in Residential Care

	unract	ovract
Control Group	(n = 19)	
Mean Score Difference:	-0.58	0.42
Standard Deviation:	3.96	6.27
Experimental Group	(n = 8)	
Mean Score Difference:	-1.43	0.43
Standard Deviation:	3.95	4.76

N.B. - a negative mean indicates an overall improvement in social adjustment, and a positive mean indicates an overall deterioration in social adjustment.

Table 7 (i)

Subjects' Raw Scores (R.S.) and Percentile Ranks (P.R.) on the Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale

	Term I		Term II		Term III	
	R.S.	P.R.	R.S.	P.R.	R.S.	P.R.
Alison	39	18	-	-	-	-
Mary	48 (3)	36	*61	71	*47	33
Polly	35 (4)	13	37 (10)	15	-	-
Olivia	38 (8)	17	*31 (17)	9	-	-
Rosie	37 (18)	15	-	-	-	-
Rebecca	-	-	58 (4)	63	-	-
Beth	48 (21)	36	*33 (16)	11	50 (5)	41
Cathy	-	-	42 (3)	23	*13 (32)	<1
Tricia	59 (5)	66	-	-	-	-
Pat	37	15	-	-	44	27
Hilary	32	10	25 (2)	5	-	-
Lee	39	18	29	7	31 (4)	9
Hilda	48	36	-	-	-	-
Heather	-	-	-	-	*53	49
Bertha	-	-	-	-	*35 (3)	13
Penny	34	12	39	18	-	-
Andrea	-	-	41 (1)	21	36	14
Taffy	61 (4)	71	-	-	-	-
Katie	-	-	47	33	-	-
Hattie	35	13	40	20	37	15
Sonia	-	-	51 (6)	44	*45 (3)	29
Carol	-	-	13 (52)	<1	*17 (25)	<1
Merren	-	-	-	-	24 (5)	4
Kris	52 (8)	46	43 (15)	24	54 (8)	52
Winnie	-	-	*48 (3)	36	-	-
Rachel	39 (12)	18	35	13	49	38
Kathleen	-	-	-	-	33 (14)	11
Wendy	50 (2)	41	58 (3)	63	55 (13)	52
Ida	-	-	53 (9)	49	-	-
Shelley	41	21	29 (8)	7	35	15
Natalie	12 (5)	<1	-	-	-	-
Brenda	41 (3)	21	46 (9)	31	63 (3)	77
Theresa	41 (8)	21	48 (1)	36	51 (8)	44
Lizzy	36 (5)	14	*40 (5)	20	33 (11)	11
Holly	-	-	14 (51)	<1	-	-
Sharen	53	49	-	-	-	-
Selina	31	9	39	18	-	-
Mean	41		40		40	
S.D.	10.1		12.1		12.8	

(n) = number of unanswered items
* Denotes girls in OE class during that term

Table 7 (ii)

Group Mean Scores on the Piers and Harris Self Concept Scale

	Term I	Term II	Term III
Experimental Group I	(n = 5)		
mean:	42.5	42	*
S.D.:	10.73	10.96	*
Experimental Group II		(n = 6)	
mean:	*	41	35
S.D.:	*	17.90	15.14
Control Group I	(n = 20)		
mean:	40.8	39	*
S.D.	10.73	12.25	*
Control Group II		(n = 14)	
mean:	*	39	43
S.D.:	*	12.25	10.91

U.S. Norm Group	(n = 1138)	
mean:	52	
S.D.:	13.87	(Piers and Harris, 1969
N.Z. Norm Group	(n = 168)	
mean:	52.59	
S.D.:	12.55	(Christchurch, 1983)

Table 8

Percentage of Appropriate Behaviour(A.B.) and Inappropriate Behaviour(I.B.) of Subjects in the Classroom.
(I.B. = passive(p), verbal(v), motor(m))

	Term I					Term II					Term III			
	A.B.	p	v	m		A.B.	p	v	m		A.B.	p	v	m
Sally	61	20	17	2		75	18	0	7		----------			
Alison	63	23	12	2		----------					----------			
Mary	----------				*	91	4	4	1	*	88	7	1	4
Olivia	33	44	15	8	*	60	32	8	0		----------			
Rosie	77	9	7	6	*	----------					----------			
Beth	----------				*	37	53	0	0		28	19	34	19
Cathy	----------					----------				*	87	10	3	0
Pat	50	30	8	12		----------					----------			
Hilary	44	29	25	2		----------					----------			
Lee	0	27	29	44		----------					----------			
Andrea	----------					85	10	5	0		47	34	13	6
Taffy	36	30	33	1		----------					----------			
Katie	----------				*	66	28	6	0		48	33	17	2
Hattie	23	18	45	14		31	29	25	15		----------			
Carol	----------					83	6	2	9	*	72	19	7	2
Kris	79	15	6	0		72	14	12	2		----------			
Rachel	60	15	21	4		66	11	21	2		----------			
Selina	----------					34	39	20	7		----------			
Wendy	47	30	16	7		34	60	6	0		61	30	9	0
Ida	----------					82	10	7	3		100	0	0	0
Shelley	92	4	4	0		45	31	19	5		----------			
Brenda	40	15	30	15		26	52	16	6		----------			
Theresa	53	22	6	19		48	42	8	2		77	12	8	3
Lizzy	25	37	19	19	*	80	14	4	2		63	18	7	12
Holly	----------					52	36	10	2		----------			
Mean	49	23	18	9		59	67	10	4		67	18	10	5
S.D.	23	10	11	10		21	18	7	4		21	11	9	6

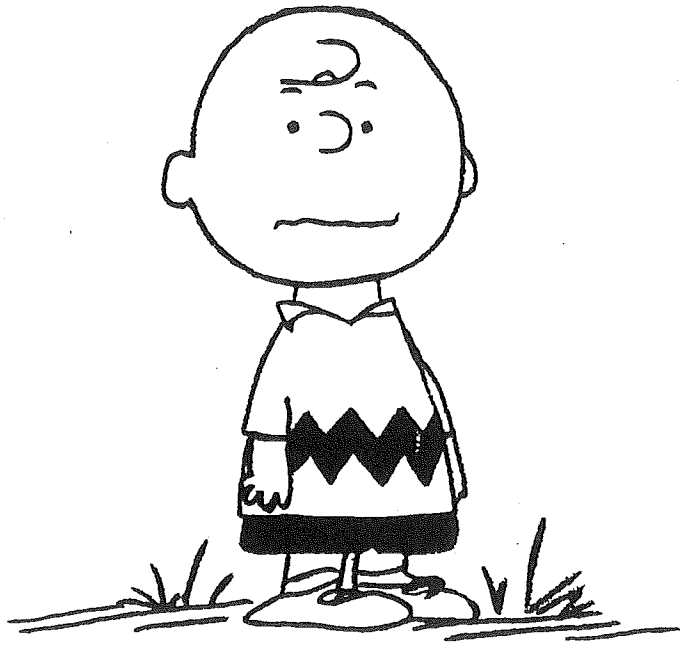
Mean Group Percentage of Appropriate Behaviour

	Term II	Term III
*Expt. Group	(n = 5)	(n = 3)
mean:	66	82
S.D.:	18.4	7.3
Control Group	(n = 13)	(n = 7)
mean:	56	61
S.D.:	20.9	21.5

APPENDIX B

SELF CONCEPT SCALE

(The Way I Feel About Myself)



EDUCATION DEPARTMENT
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY
CHRISTCHURCH
1983

NAME . . . . . .

Here are a set of statements. Some of them are true of you and so you will circle the yes. Some are not true of you and so you will circle the no. Answer every question even if some are hard to decide, but do not circle both yes and no. Remember, circle the yes if the statement is generally like you, or circle the no if the statement is generally not like you. There are no right or wrong answers. Only you can tell us how you feel about yourself, so we hope you will mark the way you really feel inside.

1. My classmates make fun of me . . . . . yes no
2. I am a happy person . . . . . yes no
3. It is hard for me to make friends . . . . . yes no
4. I am often sad . . . . . yes no
5. I am smart . . . . . yes no
6. I am shy . . . . . yes no
7. I get nervous when the teacher calls on me . . . . . yes no
8. My looks bother me . . . . . yes no
9. When I grow up, I will be an important person . . . . . yes no
10. I get worried when we have tests in school. . . . . yes no
11. I am unpopular . . . . . yes no
12. I am well behaved in school . . . . . yes no
13. It is usually my fault when something goes wrong . . . . . yes no
14. I cause trouble to my family . . . . . yes no
15. I am strong . . . . . yes no
16. I have good ideas . . . . . yes no
17. I am an important member of my family . . . . . yes no
18. I usually want my own way . . . . . yes no
19. I am good at making things with my hands . . . . . yes no
20. I give up easily . . . . . yes no

21. I am good in my school work . . . . . yes no
22. I do many bad things . . . . . yes no
23. I can draw well . . . . . yes no
24. I am good in music . . . . . yes no
25. I behave badly at home . . . . . yes no
26. I am slow in finishing my school work . . . . . yes no
27. I am an important member of my class . . . . . yes no
28. I am nervous . . . . . yes no
29. I have pretty eyes . . . . . yes no
30. I can give a good report in front of the class. . . . . yes no
31. In school I am a dreamer . . . . . yes no
32. I pick on my brother(s) and sister(s) . . . . . yes no
33. My friends like my ideas . . . . . yes no
34. I often get into trouble . . . . . yes no
35. I am obedient at home . . . . . yes no
36. I am lucky . . . . . yes no
37. I worry a lot . . . . . yes no
38. My parents expect too much of me . . . . . yes no
39. I like being the way I am . . . . . yes no
40. I feel left out of things . . . . . yes no

41. I have nice hair . . . . . yes no

42. I often volunteer in school . . . . . yes no

43. I wish I were different . . . . . yes no

44. I sleep well at night . . . . . yes no

45. I hate school . . . . . yes no

46. I am among the last to be chosen for games . . . . . yes no

47. I am sick a lot . . . . . yes no

48. I am often mean to other people . . . . . yes no

49. My classmates in school think I have good ideas . . . . . yes no

50. I am unhappy. . . . . yes no

51. I have many friends . . . . . yes no

52. I am cheerful . . . . . yes no

53. I am dumb about most things . . . . . yes no

54. I am good looking . . . . . yes no

55. I have lots of pep . . . . . yes no

56. I get into a lot of fights . . . . . yes no

57. I am popular with boys . . . . . yes no

58. People pick on me . . . . . yes no

59. My family is disappointed in me . . . . . yes no

60. I have a pleasant face . . . . . yes no

61. When I try to make something, everything seems to go wrong . . . . . yes no

62. I am picked on at home . . . . . yes no

63. I am a leader in games and sports . . . . . yes no

64. I am clumsy . . . . . yes no

65. In games and sports, I watch instead of play . . . . . yes no

66. I forget what I learn . . . . . yes no

67. I am easy to get along with . . . . . ves no

68. I lose my temper easily . . . . . yes no

69. I am popular with girls . . . . . yes no

70. I am a good reader . . . . . yes no

71. I would rather work alone than with a group . . . . . yes no

72. I like my brother (sister) . . . . . yes no

73. I have a good figure . . . . . yes no

74. I am often afraid . . . . . yes no

75. I am always dropping or breaking things . . . . . yes no

76. I can be trusted . . . . . yes no

77. I am different from other people . . . . . yes no

78. I think bad thoughts . . . . . yes no

79. I cry easily . . . . . yes no

80. I am a good person . . . . . yes no

BRISTOL SOCIAL-ADJUSTMENT GUIDES No. 2 **Confidential** BG-2

THE CHILD IN SCHOOL – GIRL

For the observation of day-school children, 5 - 16 years

prepared by D H Stott and N C Marston

The object of this Guide is to give a picture of the child's behaviour and to help in the detection of emotional instability.

METHOD OF USE

Underline in ink the phrases which describe the child's behaviour or attitudes over the past month or so. More than one item may be underlined in each paragraph, but do not underline any unless definitely true of the child. Add any remarks necessary beside the underlining, or at the end of the Guide. Where an item seems inappropriate because of age, etc., it can be ignored. If nothing is applicable, mark 'n.n.' (nothing noticeable). Do not bother to *rule* underlinings.

Name of child.....

Age... .....Date of this record.....

Teacher making record.....

School.....

Interaction with Teacher

Greeting teacher:
Waits to be noticed / hails teacher loudly / greets normally / can be surly / never thinks of greeting / is too unaware of people to greet / n.n.

Helping teacher with jobs:
Always eager or willing / presses for jobs but doesn't do them properly / never offers but pleased if asked / will help unless she is in a bad mood / cannot bring herself to be that sociable / n.n.

Answering questions:
Always ready to answer / will answer except when in one of her bad moods / not shy but never volunteers an answer / gets confused and tongue-tied / shouts out or waves arm before she has had time to think / n.n.

Asking teacher's help:
Constantly seeks help when she could manage by herself / seeks help only when necessary; seldom needs help / too shy to ask / not shy but never comes for help / too lacking in energy to bother / tries to argue against teacher / n.n.

Talking with teacher:
Forward (opens conversation) / over-talkative, tires with constant chatter / normally talkative / avoids teacher but talks to other children / chats only when alone with teacher / inclined to be moody / difficult to get a word out of her / distant, never wants to talk.

Desire for approval or attention:
Unconcerned about approval or disapproval / appreciates praise / seems to go out of her way to earn disapproval / n.n.

Gets up to all kinds of tricks to gain attention / brings objects she has found even though not really lost / wants adult interest but can't put herself forward / keeps a suspicious distance / appreciates attention / n.n.

General manner with teacher:
Natural, smiles readily / over-friendly / shy but would like to be friendly / avoids contacts both with teacher and other children / sometimes in a bad mood / couldn't care whether teacher sees her work or not / quite cut off from people, you can't get near her as a person.

Liking for sympathy:

Doesn't make unnecessary fuss / likes sympathy but reluctant to ask /
never appeals to adult even when hurt or wronged /
never makes any sort of social relationship good or bad / n.n.

Classroom behaviour:

Too timid to be any trouble / too lethargic to be troublesome /
generally well-behaved / misbehaves when teacher is engaged with others /
openly does things she knows are wrong in front of teacher.

Truthfulness:

Always or nearly always truthful / tells fantastic tales / lies from timidity /
lies without any compunction.

Response to correction:

Behaves better / responds momentarily but it doesn't last for long /
too restless and overactive to heed even for a moment /
becomes antagonistic / resentful muttering or expression for a moment or two /
bears a grudge, always regards punishment as unfair / n.n.

School Work

Paying attention in class:

Attends to anything but her work (talks, gazes around, plays with things) /
so quiet you don't really know if she is following or not /
apathetic, 'just sits' / you can't get her attention, 'lives in another world' /
on the whole attends well.

Working by herself:

Works steadily / unmotivated, has no energy / has unco-operative moods /
never gets down to any solid work (flips over pages of book without reading it, etc.) /
not restless but works only when watched or compelled.

Manual tasks or free activity:

Seems afraid to begin / difficult to stimulate, lacks physical energy /
never really gets down to job and soon switches to something else /
invents silly ways of doing things / may spoil her work purposely / sticks to job.

Facing new learning tasks:

Will be cautious at first but has a try / has not the confidence to try anything difficult /
likes the challenge of something difficult / has a hit-and-miss approach to every problem /
shows complete indifference / n.n.

Games and Play

Team games:

Plays steadily and keenly; with great energy / inclined to fool around /
has to be encouraged to take part / always sluggish, lethargic /
remains aloof in a world of her own / n.n.

Bad loser (creates a disturbance when game goes against her) /
bad sportsman (plays for herself only, cheats, fouls) /
timid, poor spirited; can't let herself go / fits in well with team / n.n.

Informal play:

Plays childish games for her age / plays sensibly / healthily noisy and boisterous /
tries to dominate and won't co-operate when she can't get her own way /
starts off others in scrapping and rough play, disturbs others' games /
shrinks from active play / has her own special solitary activity / n.n.

page two

Attitudes to Other Children

Companionship: Good mixer / associates with one other child only and ignores the rest / distant, ignores others / sometimes wanders off alone.
Mixes mostly with unsettled types / tries to buy favour with others / can never keep a friend long (tries to pal up with newcomers) / misuses companionship to show off or dominate / n.n.

Ways with other children: Squabbles, makes insulting remarks / shows off (clowns, strikes silly attitudes, mimics) / gets on well with others; generally kind, helpful / spiteful to weaker children when she thinks she is unobserved / tells on others to try to gain teacher's favour / n.n.

Physical courage: Too timid to stand up for herself or even to get involved in an argument / can stand up for herself / flies into a temper if provoked / attacks other children viciously / foolish or dangerous pranks when with a gang / very jumpy and easily scared / n.n.

Standing in line: Behaves in a well-disciplined manner / is often the centre of a disturbance / lets the more forward push ahead of her / tries to push in front of smaller children / n.n.

Personal Ways

Attendance: Good / frequently absent for day or half-day / has had long absences / has been known to play truant / parent condones absences, malingering, etc. / stays away to help parent.

Belongings: Looks after her things / careless, often loses or forgets books / destructive, defaces with scribbling / n.n.

Sitting at desk: Sits lifelessly most of the time / sits quietly and meekly / twists about in her seat, slips on to floor, climbs about on desk, etc. / doesn't seem to understand that she should keep in her seat / slumps, lolls about / sits in a sensible way.

Nervous habits, fidgets, etc.: Constantly restless (raps with pencil or ruler, shuffles with her feet, changes position) / makes aimless movements with her hands / has unwilled twitches, jerks / bites nails badly / sits reasonably still.

Other people's belongings: Borrows books from desk without permission / snatches things from other children / has stolen within the school in an underhand, cunning way / has stolen in a way that she would be bound to be found out / has always respected the property of others / n.n.

Other deviant behaviour: Damage to public property (windows, trees, fences, public gardens) / damage to personal property (cars, delivery vehicles, occupied houses, private gardens, teachers' or workmen's belongings) / follower in mischief / uses bad language which she knows will be disapproved of / n.n.

Physique

General health: Frequent colds, tonsillitis, coughs; running nose; mouth breather / poor breathing, wheezy, asthmatic, easily winded / skin troubles, sores / complains of tummy aches, feeling ill or sick; is sometimes sick / headaches, bad turns, goes very pale / fits / nose-bleeding / sore, red eyes / very cold hands / running, infected ears / good health.

Physical defects: Bad eyesight (wears or should wear glasses) / squint / bulging eyes / poor hearing / clumsy, gawky (poor co-ordination) / contorted features (face screwed up on one side, eyes half closed, etc.) / holds body or limb in unnatural posture.

Speech: Stutters, stammers, can't get the words out / thick, mumbling, inaudible / jumbled / incoherent rambling chatter / babyish (mispronounces simple words) / n.n.

Size: Tall for age / ordinary / small / unusually small.
Very fat / very thin / n.n.

Physical appearance: Attractive / not so attractive as most / looks undernourished / has some abnormal feature / n.n.

School Achievement

Classwork standard (for age): Reading (English): Good / average / poor / cannot read.
Arithmetic (Maths): Good / average / poor / completely incompetent.

Anything special about this child which is not covered in the form:

Summary, recommendations; comments:

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BRISTOL SOCIAL-ADJUSTMENT GUIDES — 1 and 2 **Confidential** BG 1 and 2/DF

THE CHILD IN SCHOOL Diagnostic Form

Name..... Sex..... Age..... Date.....

UNDER-REACTION

CORE SYNDROMES

Unforthcomingness

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 UA
1 2 3 4 5 6 UB } ..... U

Withdrawal

1 2 3 4 5 WA
1 2 3 4 WB } ..... W

Depression

1 2 3 4 5 DA
1 2 3 4 5 DB } ..... D

ASSOCIATED GROUPING

Non-Syndromic Under-reaction

1 2 3 4 5 RA
1 2 3 4 RB } ..... UR

Under-reaction
Total: U + W + D + UR .....

OVER-REACTION

CORE SYNDROMES

Inconsequence

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 QA
Distractible ⋮ Impulsive
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 QB
Hyperactive ⋮ Showing off
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 QC
Attention-seeking } ..... Q

Hostility

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 HA
Moody, sullen
1 2 3 4 5 HB
Provocative
1 2 3 4 HC
Aggressive } ..... H

ASSOCIATED GROUPINGS

Peer-maladaptiveness

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 PA
Aggressive ⋮ Domineering
1 2 3 4 5 PB
Lack of control ⋮ Unpopular } ..... PM

Non-Syndromic Over-reaction

1 2 3 4 5 6 VA
Delinquency ⋮ Peer group deviance
1 2 3 4 5 6 VB
Defiance of social norms } ..... OV

Over-reaction
Total: Q + H + PM + OV .....

NEUROLOGICAL

1 2 3 4 5 6 ..... N

Learning disability	Social disadvantage	Bad health	Physical defect
B	E		

The above are not scored. Write in for the record.

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Confidential

BG—3

BRISTOL SOCIAL-ADJUSTMENT GUIDES—No. 3

THE CHILD IN RESIDENTIAL CARE

(For the Observations of Day-School Children, 5-15 years under Residential Conditions).

Prepared by D. H. Stott, Ph.D. and Miss E. G. Sykes,
Institute of Education, University of Bristol.

The object of this Guide is to give a picture of the child's behaviour and character, and to help in the detection of emotional instability.

Name..... Sex.....

Age..... Date of this record.....

Name of Observer.....

School .....

METHOD OF USE

Underline in ink the phrases which describe the child's behaviour or attitudes over the past month or so. If any feature is very marked, underline twice. More than one item may be underlined in each paragraph, but do not underline any unless definitely true of the child. Add any remarks necessary beside the underlining, or at the end of the Guide. Where an item seems inappropriate because of sex, age, etc., it can be ignored. If nothing is applicable mark 'n.n.' (nothing noticeable). Do not bother to *rule* underlinings.

ATTITUDES TO STAFF

Affection:

Accepts, gives affection freely (all adults)/ one only/ always 'coming for love'/ demonstrative ('all over people')/ easily upset/ wants a lot of love but sometimes sulks or gets jealous/ undemonstrative (wants but does not easily show affection)/ shrinks from any affectionate approach (won't hold hands; walk beside adult, etc.).

Friendliness:

Friendly, natural/ unresponsive, cold, deep ('you don't know how to take him')/ quite cut off from people/ very variable.

Gives presents, flowers, etc.—at every opportunity/ often/ sometimes/ never.

Talkativeness:

Normally talkative (may open conversation)/ sometimes talkative, sometimes moody/ tires people with constant chatter/ quiet, shy (does not make first approach)/ guarded, on the defensive (doesn't say more than necessary)/ will talk but mostly to one adult alone/ avoids talking to all adults but talks freely to other children/ only gives half his mind and tries to get away.

Helping adults:

Does what he is asked to do/ always keen to help/ helpful when in the mood/ shy of offering but pleased when asked/ never puts himself out for anyone; avoids helping, shirks, lazy.

Does jobs conscientiously/ scatterbrain (forgets simple routine); slipshod, unreliable, happy-go-lucky/ has stupid moods/ has stubborn moods when he seems to do things purposely wrong/ gets worried over doing it wrong.

Temperament:

Often depressed (fed up with life)/ often irritable ('gets out of bed the wrong side')/ has bad moods/ sullen (seldom or never smiles)/ overcheerful, feckless, irresponsible outbursts/ even temperament.

Truth, honesty:

Always truthful; tells lies mainly to avoid rebuke/ sometimes a fluent liar/ habitual slick liar; has no compunction about lying/ tells fantastic yarns. Honest with things/ has pilfered (food, money, valued objects)—frequently/once or twice/never Obtains things from other children by unscrupulous transactions.

Confidence in people:

Assumes he will be well received/ very shy of asking favours/ cannot believe people care about him/ tries to get round adults; expects privileges/ takes undue advantage of sympathy or kindness/treats lenience as weakness/says people are down on him, aloof, distant/ like a suspicious animal/ overtrusting with strangers.

Liking for sympathy: Appreciates sympathy/ sorry for himself, likes to excite pity/ complains of headaches, pains, etc. which he soon forgets/ develops a nervous or physical incapacity (stiff or fixed limb, queer walk)/ plays the martyr; imposes hardship on himself/ suicidal talk, gestures or attempts/ does not turn to adult when ill or hurt as other children do.

Attitude to correction: Normal dislike/ defiant silence/ can be rude, defiant/ screams and temper (becomes abusive, says he hates people)/ gets violent and uncontrolled/ shuts himself in room; runs off/ remains unrepentant; never thinks afterwards that he has done any wrong/ apparent unconcern ('punishment doesn't touch him')/ plays the hero (is insubordinate before other children)/ needs continual correction over small matters.

Attracting attention of adults: Appreciates individual attention/ makes sure he is noticed/ tries to monopolize adult; angles for praise/ put out if he can't get attention/ is a nuisance when adult is busy with other child/ wants adult interest but cannot put himself forward/ unconcerned about adult approval ('couldn't care less')/ lives in a world of his own.

Self-help: Eager to do things for himself/ pretends inability to do things, seems to 'play daft'/ 'helpless' (wants help with dressing, etc.); likes to be treated as a much younger child/ likes help, but refuses it when in a bad mood.

RELATIVES, ETC.

Who are the nearest relatives he knows of?.....

How often do they visit?.....

Does he/she ever fail to turn up when expected?.....

Does he/she remember birthdays, Christmas, and bring presents, etc., regularly?.....

Does he/she write regularly?.....

Do letters contain insincere promises?.....

Does he/she talk irresponsibly of having child home again?.....

Does he/she display affection for child?.....

Child's attitude to relative:

Affectionate/ suspicious, uncertain/ shy/ casual/ boisterous/ excuses for relative's neglect.

Child's attitude to coming visit:

Eager/ anxious/ excited/ unconcerned, only interested in getting presents, being taken out, etc.

Does any other adult visit and show interest in child? If so, who and how frequently?.....

ATTITUDES TO OTHER CHILDREN

Companionship: Solitary (plays, wanders off alone)/ a good mixer/ over anxious to be in with the gang, easily led/ has one bosom friend only/ makes up to new children/ prefers animals to people.

Ways with other children: Good-natured/ selfish, scheming/ likes seeing others in trouble/ disturbs others' games; molests, pushes about, punches; likes frightening and pranks/ hostile (makes nasty remarks); a central figure in any quarrel/ nasty to those outside own set; cold-blooded bullying, cruelty (likes hurting)/ likes to play the man(woman) of the world.

Attitude of other children. Liked/ disliked, shunned/ on the fringe, somewhat of an outsider/ associates only with unsettled types/ can never keep a friend long/ gets teased, picked on, bullied.

Disagreements: Occasional squabbles/ continually squabbling/ always gives in/ flies into a temper and may hit/ fights viciously (scratches, bites, spits)/ has had dangerous impulsive outbursts; has attacked with dangerous implement.

Liking the limelight: Attempts daring feats or foolish pranks when with a gang/ shows off, plays the fool, clowns, mimics/ brags (tells tall stories, goes one better)/ none of these but won't let another child get one over on him/ fears to be conspicuous; blushes easily/ quite aloof/ n.n.

Leadership: Usually takes the lead/ tries to boss/ one of the crowd/ refuses leadership or responsibility/ is a leader in mischief/ leader of a bad set/ n.n.

Physical prowess: Stands up for himself/ afraid of any rough and tumble/ strikes brave attitudes but funks/ likes to be admired by other boys as a 'tough guy'. Fantasies of toughness, gangsterism, etc./ bravado with mice, worms, dead animals, etc.

PERSONAL WAYS

Individual games: Only likes active moving-about games (table tennis, etc.)/ likes simple games of chance (ludo, etc.); likes games of moderate skill (halma, draughts, jig-saws, etc.). Good loser/ breaks off or upsets game when losing/ cunning, dishonest.

Team-games: Participates steadily/ rushes about madly/ loses interest/ sluggish, lethargic/ shrinks from active play/ too dreamy and distracted to take part. Good sportsman/ selfish (plays for himself only)/ plays to the gallery.

Degree of ability at above games.....

Pastimes and hobbies: Has constructive pastimes (sewing, knitting, woodwork, gardening)/ does not know what to do with himself, cannot stick at anything/ varies with mood/ has no such interests. Attempts difficult tasks, has high standard/ likes things easy; shirks difficulties, impatient, slap-dash.

Degree of practical or manual ability.....

Informal activity: Overactive, restless (flits from one thing to another)/ cannot sit quietly with a book or when read to/ very noisy compared with others/ lacks energy, placid, stolid, listless/ varies from day to day/ plays childish games for his age/ n.n.

Possessions: Looks after toys, books/ destructive with toys, etc. Makes collections (apart from popular crazes)/ hoards rubbish/ does not value possessions.

Everyday ability: Can/ cannot do everyday things for his age (dressing, tying shoes, making bed, washing). Does/ does not, know right foot or hand. Can/ cannot reckon money. Can keep his end up mentally with others (swapping, buying and selling, scoring at games)/ gets cheated, fooled. Regarded by other children as clever/ 'dopy' (gets jeered at for silliness). Surprises by occasional 'flashes' above his supposed intelligence (exceptional memory, ability, intelligent remarks, etc.).

.....

Schooling: Bright/ average/ rather backward/ very backward. Does not fit in at school (complaints from teacher). Has truanted. Has got into trouble to and from school/ n.n.

Abnormal fears: In boxing, fighting/ terrified of dark, thunder/ of wasps, mice, worms, animals/ of dental or medical treatment (having splinters removed, etc.)/ very scared of being left alone/ n.n.

Appetite: Greedy/ unduly large/ small, finicky. Bolts meals. N.n.

Personal appearance: Spivvish dress, hair style (boys); overdoes dress, make up (girls)/ not over-concerned with appearance/ scruffy, very dirty.

Fidgets. etc. Twitches or jerks of face, head, hands/ restless fidgets (with clothes, tapping, etc.)/ bad nail-biting/ finger sucking (over ten years)/ tense, never at ease/ jumpy/ sudden impulsive activity, shouts, etc. ('does mad things', 'rushes about madly')/ n.n.

Speech: Stutters, halts (can't get some words out). Thick, indistinct/ rapid, jumbled. Babyish (mispronounces simple words). Continually giggling. N.n.

Eyes: Dull, listless/ unresponsive (doesn't seem to notice you)/ cannot look you in the face/ looks from under brows/ restless, uncertain glance/ bright, twinkling eyes. Blinking. N.n.

Fantasies: Imagines himself being cruel to people. Imagines he will be harmed, kidnapped, deserted (have no one to look after him), etc. Has fantasies of being someone big or doing something grand. N.n.

Vulgarity: Bad language. Vulgar stories or drawings, dirty habits, likes shocking people. N.n.

Sexual development: Early/ delayed development. Abnormality.

Boys: Girlish, prefers girls as playmates. Keen on girls/ won't have anything to do with girls/ n.n.

Girls: Tom-boyish, prefers boys as playmates. Keen on boys/ won't have anything to do with boys/ n.n.

Sleep. Sound, peaceful sleeper/ restless (makes bedclothes untidy). Worried expression in sleep, teeth grinding, head bumping or rolling. Unusual position (head covered, body curled up). Hard to wake in morning. Talking/ shouting, groaning, screaming. Walking.

Bed-wetting (how often?) .....

PHYSIQUE

General health: Poor breathing, chesty; tonsilitis, catarrh; frequent colds; running nose; running ears; periodic high temperatures; stomach disorders; sore, red eyes; headaches; bad turns, fits (goes pale); nose bleeding; very cold hands; skin troubles, sores/ good health. Very bad teeth, wholesale extractions.

Physical defects: Squint; bulging eyes; other eye or sight defect.....
Always been very/ partly deaf; sometimes develops deafness. Deformity. Very fat. Abnormal sweating. Gawky (bad co-ordination); contorted features (face screwed up on one side, eye half closed, etc.); holds limb or body in unnatural posture.

General Appearance: Attractive/ ordinary/ not so attractive as most/ has some abnormal feature.

Size for age: tall/ ordinary/ small/ diminutive.

Face: Very pale/ healthy colour/ high flush. Worried expression; puckered brow.

Anything special about this child which is not covered in the form:

.....

.....

BRISTOL SOCIAL-ADJUSTMENT GUIDE—3

Confidential

BG 3/DF

THE CHILD IN RESIDENTIAL CARE—DIAGNOSTIC FORM

Name ..... Sex..... Age ..... Date .....

UNDER-REACTION

U

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16

UNFORTHCOMINGNESS

Undue apprehensiveness when faced with new tasks or strange situations; shyness with people while maintaining a need for affection.

W

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14

WITHDRAWAL

Defence against or indifference to affection and friendly social relationships.

D

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	

DEPRESSION

Unresponsiveness seen in lethargy, variable energy, irritability as signs of neuro-physical exhaustion.

OD

1	2	3	4	5

OVERDEPENDENCE

Retreat into immaturity or incompetence as a means of securing adult support and attention.

UNDER-REACTION TOTAL ____

M

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21

HABIT DISORDERS

Manifestations of neurological or temperamental impairment which are not motivated behaviour.

Write in

PC PHYSICAL CONDITIONS

SCH SCHOOL

S SEX DEVELOPMENT

OVER-REACTION

XO

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9

ANXIOUS OVER-REACTION

Trying over-hard to make sure of affection, or desperate efforts to secure affectional attachments.

Q

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	

INCONSEQUENCE

Failure to control instinctive impulses to secure attention, dominate and create an impression; proneness to act without taking time to consider the consequences.

HA

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20

HOSTILITY

Provocative acts calculated to destroy a love-relationship in which the child has lost faith or a sullen avoidance of offers of friendship.

K

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	9	10	11	12	13	14

HUMAN UNCONCERN

Lack of concern for social attachments which gives the child freedom to pursue egoistic and anti-social means of attaining his ends.

PD

1	2	3	4	5	6	7

PEER-GROUP DEVIANCE

Deviant acts with or before a group as a means of gaining acceptance, or as a form of compensation.

PM

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

PEER MALADAPTIVENESS

Behaves aggressively and in a domineering way towards other children, and becomes disliked.

OVER-REACTION TOTAL ____

B BACKWARDNESS

C CLEVERNESS

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DATE: _____ TIME: _____ NO. IN CLASS: _____

AB = Appropriate Behaviour IB = Inappropriate Behaviour

P = Passive r = reading d = day-dreaming l = listening f = fiddling

V = Verbal t = teacher g = girl u = undirected

M = Motor o = out of classroom wa = wandering aimlessly

im = interaction mutual id = interaction disruptive w = window

NAME & WORK	AB	IB	P	V	M	NOTES

WHAT DID YOU THINK OF THE CAMP?

(Please tick the box that is closest to how you feel)

How did the activities go at the camp?	Terrible	Bit slack	O.K.	Great
How did you get on with the staff?	Awful	Some problems	O.K. No problems	Great
How did you get on with the other girls?	Awful	Some problems	O.K. No problems	Great
How do you feel now?	Awful	Bit slack	O.K.	High

What one thing went really well on the camp?

_____

Did anything go really badly on the camp?

_____

Do you have any suggestions about things which might have made the camp go better?
For example, something which should be done, or something which should not be done?

_____

_____

_____

_____

What did you think of the camp?

_____

_____

Adapted from Swain (1979).